

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A Monthly Publication with intermission from July to October (inclusive)

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The Subscription Price of the current annual volume is \$5.00
for the United States and Mexico and \$5.50 for other countries
included in the Postal Union. Single issues, price seventy-five cents.

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of

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Modern Language Notes

Volume LXIII

MAY, 1948

Number 5

JOACHIM MEIER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

Joachim Meier, born in 1661 at Perleberg, studied at Marburg, was the tutor of two young gentlemen on their tour through France and Germany, and then became a professor in the Gymnasium at Göttingen, and later, its director. In addition to the *Singspiel Die siegende Großmuth*, he wrote a number of *Romane*, now forgotten and rarely met with. One of these, the *Amazonische Smyrna*,¹ is of interest from the linguistic point of view, as Meier uses numerous words that are either unrecorded or else antedate considerably the examples given in *DWb* of the Grimms. In the following list an asterisk indicates that the word in question is not recorded at all in the *DWb*.

ABENDDÄMMERUNG, f.: gerieth ich in der Abend-Demmerung in dieser Gegend (161); weil sie bey der Abend Demmerung den *Pelops* . . . von ferne sahen (458): *DWb* has no example.

ABERWITZIG, adj.: Wirkung einer aberwitzigen Thorheit und Raserey gewesen (810): *DWb* has no example.

ABSCHIFFEN, v.: Als wir jenesmahls von *Adrastea* . . . abschiffeten (579): *DWb* has no example.

ABSENDUNG, f.: daß die Absendung des *Lychas* nur allein zu dem Ende geschehen (984): *DWb* has no example.

¹ *Die Amazonische Smyrna Worinnen Unter Einführung Trojanischer/ Griechischer/ Amazonischer und Asiatischer Geschichten/ Die Begebenheiten jeziger Zeiten/ und deren Veränderungen und Kriegs-Läuffte/ auf eine sehr curiöse Weise/ in einem Ähnlichen Staats- und Liebes-Roman verwickelt vorgestellt worden/ Von Imperiali. Franckfurt und Leipzig/ Bey Michael Andreas Fuhrmann/ 1705.* Title in red and black. Frontispiece, 7 unnn. leaves, 1030 pp., 16 cm. As Goedeke (III, 260, 53.3) gives the nom-de-plume as *IMPeriali*, I may state that my copy has *Imperiali*.

***ALLEREDELMÜTIGST**, adj.: halte ich sie vielmehr vor eine der alleredelmütigsten die er jemals begangen (750).

***ALLEREMPFINDLICHST**, adj.: indem sie die allerempfindlichste Reizungen dem *Bellerophon* zeigte (948).

***ALLERERSCHRECKLICHST**, adj.: daß ihn der Himmel in denen allererschrecklichsten Gefahren erhalten (685).

***ALLERGRIMMIGST**, adj.: Es war dieses gewißlich das allergrimmigste Gefecht (644).

***ALLERVERZWEIFELTEST**, adj.: würde sie die allerverzweifeltsten Klagen angehört (502).

***ALLERVOLKOMMENEST**, adj.: daß meine Liebe . . . die allervollkommeneste, treueste und ehrerbietigste sey (682).

***ALLERWILDEST**, adj.: auch die allerwildeste Herzen zum Mitleyden zubeugen (21).

***AMAZONIEN**, n.: nicht allein mit mir nach *Amazonien* zugehen (412); setzte man die *Farth* nach *Amazonien* beständig fort (413); samt dem *Hippolytus* seinem Sohn nach *Amazonien* zuschiffen (619); Dieser in *Amazonien* so hoch beliebte Name (633).

***AMAZONIN**, f.: Ich war eben diejenige *Amazoninn* (619); Es hatte eine *Amazonin* . . . einen gewaltigen Streich auf den König zugemessen (628).

***AMAZONISCH**, adj.: des hochverlangten Weiber-Regiments, und anmutig gemachten *Amazonischen* Lebens (307); einen Abscheu vor das *Amazonische* Leben (620); diese *Cyme* eine Zerstörerinn der *Amazonischen* Sitten (633).

ANBRECHUNG, f.: biß zu Anbrechung des Tages . . . versteckte (1021): *DWb* cites a single instance, from Opitz.

***ANGSTBEZEUGUNG**, f.: forschete mit grosser Angstbezeugung, ob sie auch einigen Schaden bekommen (869).

***ANGSTGETÖN**, n.: Der Waffen Angstgethön, der wilden Krieger schreyen (929).

ÄNGSTIGLICH, adj.: wie ängstiglich der Prinz bemühet war, das Verlohrne wiederzufinden (954): *DWb* cites a single instance, from Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig (1593).

ANHÖRUNG, f.: die Zeit in Anhörung derselben übel verlichren würden (777); theils in Anhörung der Schäfer-Lieder . . . beschäftigt waren (930): *DWb* cites Wieland.

ANLÄNDE, f.: sahe man die Anlande bey *Adrastea* mit vielen *Trojanischen* Schiffen erfüllet (468); die Völker abgezogen, und die Anlande von denen *Phoenicischen* Schiffen frey (1019): *DWb* has no example.

***ANMUTSSCHEIN**, m.: Wie *Phyllis* holder Anmuthsschein/ Ihn in die Fesseln können zwingen (930).

***ANSPRENGER**, m.: wurde er dadurch so sehr wieder seine Ansprenger ergrimmet (40); weil unsern Ansprengern dadurch so sehr der Muth entfiel (41); Unsere Ansprengere, welche gleichfals nicht wusten (42);

denen, welche von denen Ansprennern erschlagen . . . lagen (75); befraget, wer unsere unvermuthete Ansprenger wären (*ib.*).

*ANSTIFTUNG, f.: die *Argiver*, auf Anstiftung ihres Königes (321).

ANVERWANDTIN, f.: deren Töchter und Anverwandtinnen bey denen Prinzessinnen wären (305); Dieses erregeten die Freundinnen und Anverwandtinnen (636); *WDb* cites Gellert.

AUSFORDERUNG, f.: konnte er solches mit dieser Ausforderung nicht vergleichen . . . ein Freund . . . sich zu dieser Ausforderung erkühnet hätte . . . beschloß er, auf diese Ausforderung zuerscheinen (695): *DWb* cites Klinger.

*AUSFORDERUNGSZETTEL, AUSFORDERUNGSZETTEL, m.: schrieb einen Ausforderungs-Zettel an den *Bellerophon* . . . sondern übergab dem *Lykas* den Ausforderungs-Zettel (708).

AUSHEBUNG, f.: wozu der Eingang durch Aushebung etlicher Steine sehr künstlich in meiner Kammer war (1022): *DWb* has no example.

AUSLÄNDERIN, f.: einer Außländerin gnädiges Gehör zu geben (f. [3]v): *DWb* has no example.

AUSLIEFERUNG, f.: welchem es nunmehr mit meiner Auslieferung kein Ernst war (1016): *DWb* has no example.

AUSCHWEIFUNG, f.: *Aeolia* welche diese Außschweifungen ihrer Gedanken klüglich bemerkte (504): *DWb* cites Mascou (1726).

*BÄRENHÖLE, f.: Sie machten sich also aus dieser Beerenhöhle . . . hervor (805).

*BAUMNYMPHE, f.: Er fing schon an, sie vor eine Wasser- oder Baumnymphe zuhalten (839).

BAUMRINDE, f.: wurde ich . . . einer zusammengeschlagenen Baumrinde . . . gewahr (121); so viele Zettel . . . von zarten Baumrinden zuschneiden (908): *DWb* has no example.

*BEFREIUNGSBRIEF, m.: daß ich keinen Befreyungsbrief vor denen unglücklichen Zufällen habe (955).

BEGÜNSTIGUNG, f.: sich unter Begünstigung der Nachtfinsterniß von ihnen abzustelen (333): *DWb* has no example.

BEHERRSCHERIN, f.: daß sie seine Beherscherinn und nicht seine Dienerinn seyn wird (490): *DWb* has no example.

BEINAME, m.: selbst den Beynamen *Taraxippus* erhielt (816): *DWb* has no example.

*BELEIDIGERIN, f.: sich nur allein wieder ihre Beleydigerinnen zubeschutzen (485).

BEMITLEIDEN, v.: werde . . . unsere unglückliche Liebe bemitleyden (23); den Zustand seiner Wunden liebeich bemitleydete . . . diese Wunden, welche sie bemitleydet (445); daß ich sie aufs höchste bemitleyde (957): *DWb* has no example.

*BEMITLEIDENSWÜRDIG, adj.: Es war ein Bemitleydenswürdiger Zustand dieser Prinzen (487).

BESIEGELN, v.: wenn wir stark beseiegelt wären, wir die Räuber bald einholen könnten (407): *DWb* cites Pierot (1742).

BESTERMAßEN, adv.: und bat ihn sich vor denselben bestermassen vorzusehen (725): *DWb* cites a single instance from Ettner (1697).

*BEWILLKOMMUNG, f.: waren noch in einer anmutigen Bewillkomm- und Glückwünschung begriffen (1000).

*BLITZFERTIG, adj.: eilten sie mit blitzfertiger Schnelligkeit mit uns davon (666).

BRUDERMORD, m.: seine Aussöhnung wegen des Brudermordes in *Lycien* (966): *DWb* cites Goethe.

BRUDERMÖRDER, m.: den Todt . . . welchen er als ein Brudermörder . . . verdienet (684): *DWb* has no example.

BUNDESGENOSSE, m.: die *Thracier* . . . welche der *Trojaner* Bundesgenossen waren (625): *DWb* cites Goethe.

*CHIMÄRE, f.: von dem vermeyntlichen Ungeheuer *Chymära*, wovon die Poeten uns so viel Chimeren vormachen (f. [6]v).

COUR MACHEN: Sie ist eine Heldin, und ist es demnach nicht Wunder, daß sie ihre *Cour* einem solchen Helden machen wil (f. [3]a): Schulz cites Philo (1722).

*DAZWISCHENSTUNDE, f.: daß ich fast keine Zeit weiß, so mir einige fröhliche Dazwischenstunden vergönnet (955).

*DERMALEINSTEN, adv.: daß der *Myrina* Willen und Befehl sie mir nicht dermahleinsten raube (582).

DIESERWEGEN, adv.: sie würde die Prinzessinn dieserwegen nicht übel ansehen (624): *DWb* cites *Felsenburg* (1744).

DOUCEUR: weilen ich mich in denen *douceurs* der Liebe nicht gar zu lang aufhalte (f. [7]a).

*EHRBEZEUGUNG, f.: die schlechte Ehrbezeugung der *Cyme* erwiesen, übel empfinden würde (621).

*EHRBEZEUGUNG, f.: überschüttete man dieselbe mit so grossem Ruhm, und vieler Ehrbezeugung (370); den Schein einer angenommenen Ehrbezeugung (469).

EHRERBIETIGKEIT, f.: und der Ehrerbietigkeit und Pflicht vergesse (601); bey denen geringsten Leuten so tieffe Spuren der Ehrerbietigkeit hinterlassen (679): *DWb* cites Kant.

*EHRFURCHTLICH, adj.: mit solcher Majestät und Ehrfurchtlichem Wesen vermischt (864).

*EIDESVERGESSEN, adj.: hieß sie eine Gottlose und Eydesvergessene (780).

*EINROLLIEREN, v.: damit man mich nicht unter der *Rubric* der Paßquillanten mit ein-rollire (f. [7]v): cp. English *enroll*.

ENTKRÄFTUNG, f.: Es wäre aber diese Entkräftung nicht lange (699): *DWb* has no example.

ENTSCHLIESSUNG, f.: daß des Königes Entschliessung mich bestürzt gemacht (688): *DWb* cites Hahn (1721).

*ERRÖTUNG, f.: erwiederte die Prinzessinn mit einiger Erröthung (870).

*ERSTAUNBAR, adj.: welche so erstaunbare Proben ihres Heldenmuths sehen lassen (372).

FABELHAFT, adj.: derjenigen Zeiten sey, welche noch zu denen Mythischen oder Fabelhaften gerechnet werden (f. [5]v): *DWb* has no example.

FANGEISEN, n.: Er stellte sich sobald mit seinem Fang-Eysen zwischen sie und den Eber, welcher aber mit seinem Rüssel das Eysen in die Höhe schlug (53): *DWb* cites *Nord. Robinson* (1749).

*FILOUISCH, adj.: *Griechen*, deren Handwerk in Kriegen zur Zeit sehr rauberisch und filouisch außsahe (f. [6]r).

FLÄCHLINGS, adv.: weil auch so gar der Streich auf dem Haupte flächlings gefallen, und nur eine leichte Wunde verursacht hatte (650): *DWb* cites only one instance from Stieler.

*FLORISSANT, adj.: ein so *florissantes* Reich, welches vor kurzer Zeit das *Pfrygische* . . . unterdrucket (f. [6]r):.

*FRÄULEINRÄUBER, m.: der . . . sich unterstanden ein Fräulein Räuber zuwerden (587); die Vermählung mit einem leichtsinnigen Fräulein Rauber (630).

*FREIHEITBEGIERIG, adj.: ihre Weiber auch viel zukriegerisch und Freyheitbegierig waren (344).

*FREUDENBEWEGUNG, f.: Nachdem die ersten Freudenbewegungen vorüber waren (1004).

*FREUDENBEZEUGUNG, f.: würde er mit grosser FreudenBezeugung darauf geantwortet haben (690).

*FREUDENZURUFUNG, f.: beehreten ihn mit unaufhörlichen Freudenzurufungen und Jubelgeschrey (747).

FREUNDSCHAFTSBEZEUGUNG, f.: ümarmeten einander mit ganz ungemeiner Freundschaftsbezeugung (601): *DWb* has no example.

*FRIEDENSVORSCHLAG, m.: in solcher Noth wäre, daß sie Friedens-Vorschläge annehmen müste (640).

GARTENZIMMER, n.: als sie ihn in eben demselben Garten-Zimmer sizen fand (758); Indem er nun vor ein lustiges Gartenzimmer vorbey gieng (764): *DWb* cites Goethe.

*GEFAHRSETZUNG, f.: die Schenkung der hundert Gefangenen nebst der Gefahrsezung seines Lebens (433).

GEFÄHRTIN, f.: hatte sich endlich fast von allen seinen Gefährtinnen abgezogen (790): *DWb* cites Aler (1727).

*GEGENOPFER, n.: würde ich davor ein solches Gegen-Opfer nicht annehmen können (933).

*GEGENREDEN, v.: Ich befürchte, gegenredete *Lysippe*, daß (511); diese *Philonoe*, gegenredete die Prinzessinn (689); gnädigste Prinzessinn, gegen-

redete *Akanthe* (792); Ihr schmeichelt mir vergeblich, *Kleomira*, gegenredete die Prinzessinn (846); Ich bin so wenig geschikkt, gegenredete er (870); similarly 912, 933, 941.

*GEMÜTSÄNDERUNG, f.: und weil ihre GemüthsEnderung beständig waren (505).

*GEMÜTSFREUDIGKEIT, f.: niemand die Ursache dieser Gemüthsfreudigkeit errathen konnte (922).

GEMÜTSKRANKHEIT, f.: ungeacht seiner Leibes- und Gemüths-Krankheit (334): *DWb* cites Aler (1727).

GEMÜTSVERÄNDERUNG, f.: und sich einer Gemüths-Veränderung von sie befürchtet (522): *DWb* cites Moritz.

GESICHTSVERÄNDERUNG, f.: erinnerte er sich auch dabey des *Jobates* . . . ungewöhnlichen Verfahrens und Gesichtsveränderung (547): *DWb* cites Fr. Schlegel.

GLÜCKESSTRAHL, m.: Helden hätte, unter dessen Glückesstral dieses wichtige Werk ausgeführt würde (890).

GLÜCKSVERMEHRUNG, f.: hörten mit ungemeiner Freude . . . des *Bellerophon*es Glücks-Vermehrung (709).

GNADENAUGE, f.: Drüm schaut auf unsre Pflicht mit Gnaden-Augen nieder (930).

GRÜBELICHT, adj.: es eine höchstverdrießliche Sache ist, eine grübelichte Liebste zuhaben (144); lasset uns nicht zu unserer eigenen Schmerzen Vermehrung so grübelicht seyn (582).

GUNSTBEZEUGUNG, f.: der . . . geleistete Dienst, schiene alle Gunst-Bezeugungen zurechtfertigen (272).

GUNSTGEWOGENHEIT, f.: Er nam sich aufs neue einer grossen Freundschaft und Gunstgewogenheit an (531); wie sehr er sich hiemit die Gunst-Gewogenheit dieser Leute . . . verbande (541).

GÜTIGKEIT, f.: werdet ihr die Gütigkeit haben, mir völligen Unterricht von eurem Leben zugeben (280).

HELDENFAUST, f.: gesehen, waß seine Heldenfaust vor Wunder thut (836): *DWb* cites Goethe.

HERUMSCHWÄRMEN, v.: haben nunmehr eine geraume Zeit auf dem Meer herumgeschwermet (476); noch auf diesem unbeständigen Element mit seiner Beute herumschwermete (477): *DWb* cites *Felsenb.*

HERVORBRINGUNG, f.: mit Hervorbringung dieser Worte einen Zwang angethan (395): *DWb* cites Kant.

HINABROLLEN, v.: durch die hinabgerollete Steine, Pfeil und Wurfspiesse das Leben verlohren (1014): *DWb* has no example.

HIRNWUT, f.: daß hiebey eine Art der Hirnwuth wäre, welcher man . . . zu Hülfe kommen müste (950): *DWb* cites Brentano.

*HOCHVERBUNDEN, adj.: je höhner er die ohnedem so hochverbundene Prinzen hielte (443).

HÜLFSVOLK, n.: mit denen Hülfs-Völkern zu Schiffe gehen wolte (335); auch um einige HülfsVölker von dem *Tros* zuerlangen (920); dem *Jobates* mit einigen Hülfsvölkern beyzustehen (959); so bald die dem *Jobates* versprochene Hülfsvölker zusammengebracht (975): *DWb* cites Goethe.

JAGDBEDIENTER, m.: mit der *Argivischen* Königin samt einigen Jagtbedienden (871): *DWb* has no example.

JUBELGESCHREI, n.: mit unaufhörlichen Freudenzurufungen und Jubelgeschrey (747); Dieser Schuß wurde mit einem grossen Jubelgeschrey und ungemainer Verwunderung aufgenommen (855): *DWb* cites Frisch.

KRIEGSGEWITTER, n.: dieses einbrechende Krieges-Gewitter von seinem Reich abzukehren (323): *DWb* cites Schiller.

KRONENSÜCHTIG, adj.: Gleichwie ich nicht Kronensüchtig bin, antwortete der Prinz (956): *DWb* cites *kronsüchtig* from *Hamlet*.

*LANDGEGEND, f.: auch die Landgegenden allenthalben umher (1012).

LANZENBRECHEN, n.: Spiele und Lustrennen, Lanzenbrechen, Ringen, Wettlaufen (851); Er hatte sich nunmehr auch im Lanzenbrechen versucht (852); beschloß er solches im Lanzenbrechen wieder einzubringen (856): *DWb* cites Hederich.

*LEBENSÄNDERUNG, f.: Bey aller dieser meiner Lebens-Enderung aber (502).

*LEBENSEMPFINDLICHKEIT, f.: daß sie fast ohne Lebens-Empfindlichkeit zu Boden stürzete (784).

*LEBENSERHALTER, m.: ihn mein werthester Prinz und Lebens-Erhalter, zuvergnügen (17).

LEBENSERHALTUNG, f.: daß . . . mir meine Freyheit oder Lebenserhaltung sollte zustatten kommen können (447): *DWb* has no example.

LEIBESBEWEGUNG, f.: etwaß so angenehmes in ihrem Gang und äusserlichen Leibes-Bewegungen hat (39): *DWb* cites *Lit. Briefe*.

*LEIBSCHUTZ, m.: erwählte er die Tapffersten . . . gleichsam zu seinem Leibschuz (539).

*LETZTVERSTRICHEN, adj.: Dieses nun haben sie . . . an diesem leztverstrichenen Tage bewerkstelliget (803).

LIEBESANGELEGENHEIT, f.: hielte sich damals, einiger Liebes-Angelegenheiten wegen bey *Argos* auf (32); *DWb* cites Gellert.

LIEBESERKLÄRUNG, f.: wieder mit einer unziemlichen LiebesErklärung aufgezogen kam (968): *DWb* cites Hölty.

*LIEBESFARBE, f.: zeigte mit dieser Liebesfarbe deutlich genug an, (710).

*LIEBESHANDLUNG, f.: oder sich mit ihnen in Liebeshandlungen einlassen sollte (147).

*LIEBESHOFFNUNG, f.: und sie selbst ihrer Liebes-Hoffnung verfehlen machen (915).

*LIEBESMÄHRLEIN, n.: hat sich auch nit in lauter abgeschmackte Liebes-Mährlein verwickelt (f. [3r]).

LIEBESPROBE, f.: wuß bedarf man dergleichen Liebes-Proben? (139); alhie nur eigentlich von denen Liebesproben reden . . . noch die Liebes-Proben anders als Wirkungen der Klugheit betrachten (140); nach vielen empfangenen LiebesProben (689); weil es eine gar fremde Liebesprobe seyn würde (912): *DWb* cites Brockes.

LIEBESROMAN, m.: in einem Annehmlichen Staats- und Liebes-Roman verwickelt (Title): *DWb* cites Schiller.

*LIEBESUNSTERN, m.: Er erzählete mir auch seinen Liebes Unstern (278).

*LIEBESVERDIENST, m.: indem ich mir aus einer Sache einen Liebes-Verdienst mache (537).

*LIEBESVERFOLGUNG, f.: daß er entweder der Königin fernere Liebesverfolgung . . . erregen würde (939).

LIEBESVERSTÄNDNIS, n.: *Pero*, mit welcher er ein Liebes-Verständniß hat (259); wenn ich nicht ein heimliches Liebes-Verständniß mit ihr hätte (298); daß er mit der *Trojanischen* Prinzessin ein Liebes-Verständniß haben müste (710): *DWb* cites Gotter.

*LIEBESVERTRAUT, adj.: weil er überdem sein LiebesVertrauter war (1020).

*LIEBESVERTRETERIN, f.: daß es also keiner Liebesvertreterin bey mir bedarf . . . meine Gemahlinn eine geschicktere Liebesvertreterinn des *Bellerophon* bey der Prinzessin . . . bedeuten könnte (909); daß die Königin . . . eine gefährliche Liebes-Vertreterinn bey der *Philonoe* ist (917).

*LIEBESVORSPRECHERIN, f.: ist die *Argivische* Königin ihre Liebes-Vorspracherinn bey der *Philonoe* geworden? (883).

*LOBAUSBREITUNG, f.: beschloß . . . ihre Erzählung mit vieler Lobaußbreitung des *Bellerophon* (671).

*LOSWICKELN, v.: wiewol ich sie zum öftern wieder darauf brachte, wickelte sie sich doch sehr listig wieder loß (271).

*LUSTBOOT, n.: Ich fuhr in einem Lustboth am Gestade hin und her (1006); indem diese beyde Fahrzeuge gerade auf mein Lustboth zukamen (1007).

LUSTHÜTTE, f.: nach geendigter Tafel, welche man in Lusthütten, so im Walde aufgerichtet, gehalten hatte (904): *DWb* cites only Stieler.

LUSTJAGD, f.: auf der vor die *Messenische* Gesandten angestellte Lustjacht (70); hatte *Jobates* eine Lustjagt in dem Walde bey Myra angestellt (864); wie solches auf der neulichsten Lustjacht sich schon . . . zu Tage gelegt hatte (884): *DWb* cites H. v. Kleist.

*LUSTRENNEN, n.: allerhand Spiele und Lustrennen, Lanzenbrechen (851).

*LUSTSTREIT, m.: so sahe man ihn nicht bey diesem Luststreit erscheinen (362).

LUSTWÄLDCHEN, n.: brachte ihn in ein Lustwäldchen an den *Thermodoon* belegen (420).

*MEERESSEITE, f.: und entkam nach der Meeresseite, alwo er jederzeit einige Schiffe . . . bereit hielte (615).

*MITBUHLERIN, f.: erkläre mich hiemit, nimmer eure Mitbuhlerin zu seyn (847).

*MITGEFÄLLIGKEIT, f.: Alle meine Mitgefälligkeit die ich gegen der *Iphinoe* Kriegerische Gemüths-Neygung bezeige (273); zeigte er gleiche Mitgefälligkeit gegen diesen Fürsten (887).

*MITSTEUER, f.: dem *Antenor* aber die *Kleopatra* zur Gemahlinn und das *Trojanische* Reich zur Mitsteuer gegeben (745).

*MITTERNACHTZEIT, f.: kamen wir zu *Adrastea* um die Mitternachtzeit wieder an (464).

*MITWISSERIN, f.: *Thiba* welche ihrer Geheimnisse Mitwisserinn war (405); weil dieselbe als eine Mitwisserinn aller Geheimnisse . . . erfahren hatte (777); Leibdienerinn, welche aller ihrer Heimlichkeiten Mitwisserinn war (953).

MORDBEFEHL, m.: kein Verbrechen, womit ich diesen Mordbefehl solte verdienet haben (682): *DWb* cites only Tieck.

MYTHISCH, adj.: Zeiten sey, welche noch zu denen Mythischen oder Fabelhaften gerechnet werden (f. [5]v): *DWb* cites Platen.

*NACHTFINSTERNISZ, f.: ob er ihn bey der Nachtfinsterniß vor einen Geist . . . halten solte (161); sich unter Begünstigung der Nachtfinsterniß von ihnen abzustelen (333).

NATUREEIGENSCHAFT, f.: Sie hatte aber seiner Natur-Eigenschaften wegen einen kleinen Widerwillen gegen ihm (356): *DWb* cites Herder.

NIEDERREISSUNG, f.: strafften sie nicht weiter als mit Niederreissung ihrer Mauren (616): *DWb* cites only Maaler.

PFEILHAGEL, m.: sich mit einem dicken Pfeil-Hagel begrüset sahe (337): *DWb* cites Geibel.

*PFERDELIEBE, f.: verlohrt . . . sein Leben, durch seine übermässige Pferdeliebe (821).

*PRIESTERHAUBE, f.: bedeckte er sein Haupt mit einer Priesterhauben (935).

*PRINZESSINNENRÄUBER, m.: hatten diese beyde Prinzessinnen-Räuber einerley Vorhaben (465); Er nannte ihn einen Prinzessinnen-Räuber (559)

*RAUBINSEL f.: ihre Erbfeinde vollend zuvertilgen, und aus ihren Raub-Inseln zuvertreiben (414).

*REICHsvermehrung, f.: Das Schwerdt . . . welches ich bißhero vor die Erhaltung und Reichs-Vermehrung geführt (683).

RENOMMIRT, adj.: von denen damals nicht sonderlich renommirten Griechen (f. [6]r): Weigand cites Nehring (1710).

ROMANIST, m.: Daß ich auch kein Talandrischer Romanist sey ([7]r): *DWb* cites text of 1734.

*ROMANSRICHTER, m.: nicht unter die billiche *Censur* tugendhafter *Romans*-Richter gerathen wil ([7]r).

SCHÄFERFLÖTE, f.: mit ihren Schäferflöthen und andern Instrumenten (928): *DWb* cites Göcking.

SCHÄFERLEBEN, n.: die edelsten Jungfrauen unter den Vorwand des Schäferlebens an sich zuziehen (199): *DWb* cites Hagedorn.

*SCHIFFBEFEHLSHABER, m.: durch die Aussage eines Schiff-Befehlshabers (1008).

SCHIFFSBEFEHLSHABER, m.: derjenige Schiffs-Befehlshaber, welcher . . die *Thiba* liebete (1011): *DWb* cites Campe.

SCHIFFBUBE, m.: sich auch biß auf die allergeringste Schiffbuben erstreckte (1003): *DWb* cites only Frischlin.

SCHIFFHEER, n.: richtete er ein ziemliches Schiffheer, mit welchem er . . . ging (382): *DWb* cites Stolberg.

*SCHIFFKAMMER, f.: drang er mit unbeschreiblicher Tapferkeit nach besagter Schiffkammer durch (999).

SCHIFFSKAMMER, f.: hörte . . . Geschrey einiger Weibespersonen in der Schiffskammer (998); kam er mit blutigem Schwerdt zu mir in die Schiffskammer (1025): *DWb* cites *Felsenburg*.

*SCHIFFSGEMACH, n.: als *Ilus* wieder in das Schiffsgemach hereintratt (477).

SCHIFFSTRÜMMER, pl.: das Meer von so vielen Gütern, Schiffstrümmern und Todten Leibern bedekket (310): *DWb* cites J. Mosen (1863).

SCHLAFGESELLIN, f.: sondern dieselbe auch endlich zur Schlafgesellinn erwähnen wollte (481): *DWb* cites only Plesse (1744).

*SCHMERZENS AUSDRÜCKUNG, f.: erzählete er mir solches mit so grosser Schmerzens-Ausdrückung (759).

SCHMERZENSBEZEUGUNG, f.: nam *Bias* mit grossen Schmerzens-Bezeugungen Abschied (24); weichherzig über diese SchmerzensBezeugung des *Bellerophontes* (690); weil er mit grosser Schmerzens und Verzweiflungsbezeugung geantwortet (989).

*SCHNELLAUFEND, adj.: fertigte alsobald eine von ihren schnelllaufenden *Amazonen* nach dem Haven (767): *DWb* cites *das Schnelllaufen* from Goethe.

*SCHRECKART, f.: durch des *Glaukus* gewöhnliche Schreckart so rasend geworden . . . noch weit rasender als vorhin, welches ohne Zweifel seine Schreckart verursachte, womit er sie sonst wild gemacht (821).

SCHUTZENGE, m.: Er nannte den *Bellerophontes* seinen Schuz-Engel (901): *DWb* cites Dentzler (1716).

*SEEHUNDEFELL, n.: an Seehunde-fellen, womit seine Unterthanen . . . einen grossen Handel trieben (97): *DWb* cites *Seehundsfell*, from Campe.

*SPIESZGESELLIN, f.: ich ruffe . . . meine ehemalige tapfere Spießgesellinnen zu Zeugen an (634); daß diese *Amazonen* ehemals meine Spießgesellin-

nen gewesen (750); begaben sich zurück nach ihren Spießgesellinnen . . . Als aber diese ihre Spießgesellinnen ankamen (786).

*SPRINGQUELLE, f.: führte ihn . . . nach einer klaren . . . Springquelle (935).

*STRÖMENWEIS, adv.: wie er . . . sein Bluth strömenweiß vor euch fliesen lassen (495).

*VERBRECHBAR, adj.: alle diese Begebenheiten machen mich bey der *Philonoe* nicht verbrechbar (536); urtheilen nun, ob die unschuldigste Prinzessinn verbrechbar, und ob deren Tugend Straffe verdienet (635).

VERERBFÄLLEN, v.: seinen Thron auf den Prinzen *Sandoch* seinen ältesten Sohn vererbfällete (380): *DWb* cites text of 1789.

*VERHALSSTARRIGEN, v.: sahe wol, daß *Iphianassa* ihn zuhassen verhalstarriget . . . war (333); welche in dem Vorhaben ein *Amazonisches* Reich anzurichten unendlich verhalstarriget war (479); daß ich euch noch in einem Vorhaben verhalstarriget sehe (511); den *Iobates* in seiner ungerechten Verfolgung verhalstarriget sahe (680); so gar verhalstarriget waren sie (723).

VERMÄHLUNGSFEST, n.: auf nichts mehr als Freuden und Vermählungs Feste bedacht (1005): *DWb* cites Herder.

*VERMÄHLUNGSZEREMONIE, f.: nach den Tempel . . . woselbst die Vermählungs Ceremonien vollendet werden sollten (469).

*VERRÄTERSTÜCKCHEN, n.: Der *Lycische* Feldherr, welcher auf Anstiften ein Verräther-Stückchen vorhatte (543).

*VERSAMMLUNGSPLATZ, m.: daß auf den Versamlungsplatz bey *Tenedos* sich einige Schiffe . . . einfinden sollten (925).

*ZEITVERFLIESSUNG, f.: Wiewol nach kurzer ZeitVerfliessung *Epheso* nebst ihren Leuten hieselbst anlangete (392); daß man den *Pelops* nach so langer Zeitverfliessung auf dem Meer suchen müsse (477).

W. KURRELMEYER

A SOURCE FOR RODERICK HUDSON

Critics have pointed out various literary influences on *Roderick Hudson*, Henry James's first successful novel. Balzac, Hawthorne, Turgenev, George Eliot, George Sand, Thackeray, and Henri Regnault are all said to have entered into James's conception of this early work.¹ But there is another author who had, I believe, a more

¹ See Kelley, *The Early Development of Henry James* (Urbana, 1930), pp. 187-89; Beach, *The Method of Henry James* (New Haven, 1918), pp. 42, 74-75; Matthiessen, "James and the Plastic Arts," *Kenyon Review*, v, 537 (Autumn, 1943); Cestre, "La France dans l'oeuvre de Henry James,"

direct influence on *Roderick Hudson* than any of these, and that is Alexandre Dumas fils, whose novel *L'Affaire Clémenceau; mémoire de l'accusé* Henry James reviewed for the *Nation*, Oct. 11, 1866,² eight years before he began *Roderick Hudson*. Although there are many differences, both in the story and the treatment, which make James's novel incontestably a better book, there are enough similarities in plot, characters, and ideas to indicate a direct relationship.

Unlike most of James's early criticism, the review of *L'Affaire Clémenceau* expresses enthusiasm and high praise. He sees Dumas as a writer who has at one stroke "affixed his name to the list of the greater French novelists." The book is "before all things, *serious*." It "thrills and interests the reader from beginning to end." He finds only one serious defect in the work: its ultimate effect is to depress the reader. But James admits that the critic is taking high ground when he considers this a fault. He concludes:

Since the taste of the age is for realism, all thanks for such realism as this. . . . Since radicalism in literature is the order of the day, let us welcome a radicalism so intelligent and so logical. In a season of careless and flippant writing, and of universal literary laxity, there are few sensations more wholesome than to read a work so long considered and so severely executed as the present. . . . Such writing is reading for men.³

Basic similarities of plot are readily apparent. *L'Affaire Clémenceau* is a memoir supposedly written by a man accused of murdering his wife, and it is intended to be a complete account of facts and motives for his counselor at law. Pierre Clémenceau, the prisoner, is the illegitimate son of a poor seamstress. When he is fourteen, a famous sculptor, Thomas Ritz, takes him as his pupil and treats him as a son. Just when his natural genius has been trained into a rare power, he meets Madame Dobronowska, a Polish adventuress, and her daughter Iza, a girl of extraordinary beauty. The mother is living off the promise of the girl's future, while they search for a suitor with sufficient money and position to satisfy their ambition. Clémenceau makes a sketch, then a bust, of Iza. After several weeks of happy friendship between the two young people, Iza's mother takes her away to continue their husband-hunting elsewhere. For three years Clémenceau's only contact with them is an occasional

Revue Anglo-Américaine, x, 11 (Oct., 1932); Pacey, "Henry James and his French Contemporaries," *American Literature*, xiii, 245 (Nov., 1941).

² Reprinted in *Notes and Reviews* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 219-27.

³ *Notes and Reviews*, p. 227.

letter. In the meantime, his fame grows until he is recognized as one of the leading sculptors of the day. But the Dobronowska's hunt does not go well, and finally Iza, horrified by her mother's proposals that she sacrifice her honor to a rich old man, writes Clémenceau, begging him to save her. He asks her to become his wife, and she gladly accepts. For a while they are very happy. Then one day he discovers that his wife has been having a series of lovers. He breaks with her immediately, fights a duel, and goes to Rome, where he tries to forget his sorrow in work. But he cannot work. His inspiration is dead. He remains whole days motionless before his clay, unable to do anything because his mind is preoccupied with Iza. Finally in despair he is thinking of suicide, when he hears that his wife has reappeared in Paris as the mistress of a foreign prince. Without any definite plan, he returns, and when she receives him with a shameless proposal, he kills her.

In *Roderick Hudson*, as well, a poor but talented youth meets a patron who enables him to become a sculptor. When he is beginning to achieve fame, he, too, meets the most beautiful girl in the world, whose awful mother devotes her life to exploiting her child's beauty. Roderick also makes a bust of the girl and falls hopelessly in love with her. The plots diverge when Christina's mother succeeds in capturing a prince whereas Iza's fails; but they come together again when the artist must face his disappointment at losing the girl he loves. Roderick, as Clémenceau, has lost his ability to create and each book contains a protracted account of the artist's sterility and despair following frustrated passion. Both books end with violence, although of a different kind, for while Clémenceau kills Iza, Roderick is himself killed.

The skeleton of the plot is much the same in the two novels, and even in details there are some parallels: Iza is illegitimate, although the fact is important in Dumas's book only because it shows the influence of heredity on her. Christina is also illegitimate, and in James's work the fact is very important, since it becomes the weapon used to force her to marry the prince. When Clémenceau sees Iza, she becomes for him a symbol of Woman, later of Beauty; for Roderick, Christina symbolizes Ideal Beauty. Clémenceau makes the bust of Iza with the understanding that he will not be paid and that the bust is to become the property of the mother and daughter. Roderick accepts the same conditions before he models Christina. Under the influence of passion, Clémenceau, like Roderick, tempo-

rarily produces sensualistic art, which he, like Roderick, considers degraded.

It is in the treatment of the three major characters that the most interesting similarities and differences are found. The two heroes are much alike. Both are handsome, poor, and fatherless; both are fortunate in finding a sympathetic patron to guide them at the beginning of their careers. Clémenceau's description of his own nature as "extrême en tout, et qui ne m'a jamais permis de prendre la moyenne de la vie, nature nerveuse enfin, qui commande, passionnée, emporte, abat celui qui l'a reçue, sans qu'il soit jamais capable de la guider"⁴ applies equally well to Roderick. Both are unable to withstand emotional frustration, which renders them incapable of imaginative response and condemns them to inaction. There is only one striking difference in the portrayal of the two men: Clémenceau repeatedly boasts of his chastity and a large part of his anger comes from his sense of the irony of the contrast between himself and his wife. James wisely omitted this theme in his novel.

Madame Dobronowska and Mrs. Light, the two mothers who drag their daughters about Europe looking for the husbands that will make their fortunes, are much alike. They are both middle-aged, with faded traces of a once brilliant beauty. Both anticipate their future greatness with an assumed grand air. Both delight in exhibiting their daughters' beauty. James wrote in his review:

Madame Dobronowska is an adventuress more false and mercenary than the fancy can readily conceive. . . . There is something equally pathetic and hideous in her jealous adoration of her child's beauty and her merely prudential vigilance. "Have you seen her hands?" she asks of Clémenceau, when he comes with his sketch. "Yes." "Look at them by daylight." "She raised her daughter's hand and showed me its truly remarkable transparency by flattening it, so to speak, against the light; and then, taking it between her own, she kissed it with a sort of frenzy, crying, 'Tu es belle ça!' . . ."⁵

The tone of that passage suggests the scene in *Roderick Hudson* where Roderick is modelling Christina's bust and Mrs. Light gathers up her daughter's hair, letting it fall through her fingers with a significant smile at Rowland, the patron, whom she reminds of

⁴ Dumas, *L'Affaire Clémenceau-mémoire de l'accusé* (Paris, 1866), pp. 116-17.

⁵ *Notes and Reviews*, p. 223.

"an old slave-merchant, calling attention to the 'points' of a Circassian beauty. . . ." ⁶ She also points out Christina's small feet as one of her noteworthy assets. But Christina, unlike Iza, turns aside her mother's comments with irony.

For although the two young sculptors and the two mothers are much alike, the two most beautiful girls have very different personalities—in spite of very similar backgrounds. They are the products of the same education, designed in each case solely to prepare the girl to become the wife of a prince. In childhood, each is said to have played with the children of royal families; each has learned to speak three or four languages; each has been told repeatedly how beautiful she is. Because of her surpassing beauty, each has been offered a fortune by stage managers, but in each case the mother has refused to have the daughter trained for the theatre, believing that she can find a more brilliant future in the proper marriage. The life which the girls and their mothers lead is the same. Iza complains at one point:

Croyez-vous que la vie que je menais depuis plusieurs années fût dans mes goûts. Me montrer toujours en public, être regardée comme une bête curieuse, m'entendre dire que je suis belle, sans que cela me mène à rien, ce n'est pas bien amusant à la longue. Ma mère le voulait. Que de fois nous sommes allées au bal sans avoir dîné! Que de fois nous avons engagé nos objets les plus nécessaires pour m'acheter une toilette! Que de dettes, que d'ennuis, que de scènes avec des créanciers sur qui cette beauté qui devait m'attirer des millions n'exerçait pas le moindre empire! ⁷

Except that Christina's beauty seems to have had more effect on the creditors—her mother says, "I've raised money on that girl's face"—⁸ there is little difference.

But there is a difference in the reaction of the two girls. Iza accepts her mother's ideas, for the most part, without question, and makes them her own. Her heredity and education have brought out three weaknesses: immodesty, ingratitude, and sensuality. She craves admiration and is happy only when her beauty is worshipped. She has a beautiful body, but no mind or soul. She is both simpler and more corrupt than Christina. At the end she is condemned as a monster, depraved and vicious.

Christina is a victim, unhappy herself and in her effect upon

⁶ *Atlantic Monthly*, xxxv, 518 (May, 1875).

⁷ Dumas, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

⁸ *Atlantic Monthly*, xxxv, 657 (June, 1875).

others, but not at all vicious. She is one of James's most complex and interesting characters. Wilful and impulsive as Iza, she has the mind and soul which Iza lacks. She does not accept her mother's ideas—in fact she does not hesitate to call her mother a fool. She is equally harsh in judging herself as "a miserable medley of vanity and folly." Although she must submit to being dragged about Europe in search of a husband, she takes refuge in indifference and irony. She has become world-weary, defiant, moody—belonging half to the world and the devil, half above them. She would never be capable of living solely for gratification of the senses as Iza, and she is capable of sacrificing to an ideal. Ironically, generosity combines with pride and a flair for the dramatic to make her dangerous to Roderick even when she is trying to help him. At the end the feeling for her which the reader shares with Rowland is one of pity and sympathy and fascination. In the conception of her character, more than in anything else, James has improved on Dumas.

Besides the parallels in plot and character development, there are also similarities in ideas in the two novels. One important theory found in both relates to the kind of life that is best for the artist. Both Thomas Ritz and Rowland Mallet, who are wise guides and patrons for the young sculptors, express strong convictions that the artist is better if he can lead a quiet life and avoid emotional extremes. This theme is repeated several times in each novel,⁹ and the resolution of the plots with both Clémenceau and Roderick losing their artistic powers under the stress of strong passion shows a practical application of the theory.

A second major idea which occurs in both books deals with heredity and the responsibility of the individual for his own actions. The belief that an individual is determined by his heredity and hence has no free will is basic to Dumas' novel. Clémenceau says that Iza, like himself, comes under the laws of heredity, only she doubly so, since she was born of two completely vicious persons.¹⁰ Clémenceau believes that if God gave free will to anyone, it was only to Adam. Since Cain, no one has been free.

A partir de Caïn, le libre arbitre disparaît. Caïn n'est plus maître de tous ses actes; il subit son générateur. Le père a été coupable, le fils est

⁹ See Dumas, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97, 203; *Atlantic Monthly*, xxxv, 148; xxxvi, 68.

¹⁰ Dumas, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

criminel; la transmission physiologique commence, le fatalité héréditaire s'impose et ne s'interrompt plus. Tel père, tel fils,¹¹

A French critic, Cestre, in discussing *Roderick Hudson*, speaks of the characters as inheriting their temperaments, and says that James was following closely the example of Balzac in adopting this method of genetic psychology.¹² However, a careful reading of James's book will show that James was not illustrating the laws of heredity at all, but rather denying their control over the individual, perhaps stimulated to this by reaction against the importance given these laws by Dumas. Although Roderick, like Clémenceau, insists that he is not a free agent and that it is beyond his power to control his will, Rowland criticizes this viewpoint and repeatedly asserts the freedom of the will. "The will," he says, "is destiny itself."¹³ And Rowland, more than Roderick, is to be trusted as the author's spokesman.

James's one criticism of *L'Affaire Clémenceau* was that it was depressing. The important changes which he made in his own telling of a similar story tend to alleviate a depressing effect. The insistence on free will rather than determinism, of course, does so. Roderick seems to invite his own doom, which he might have avoided by an effort of will. The change in the character of the young girl from the frivolous immorality of Iza to the complex good-and-evil of Christina alters the tone of the book very much and requires the story to take a different turn. James says that Dumas' story "traces the process of the fatal domination acquired by a base and ignoble soul over a lofty and generous one."¹⁴ That is a depressing theme. *Roderick Hudson* also traces the process of a fatal domination, but it is acquired accidentally by a noble soul over a weak-willed one. With the implication that Roderick should have overcome his weakness, the effect is not depressing. A third difference, that of point of view, makes it possible for James to criticize Roderick and expose his failings. Clémenceau tells his own story. There is no one to criticize him and he remains the undisputed hero, whose account justifies his deeds. Roderick, who closely resembles Clémenceau, is seen largely through Rowland's

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹² Cestre, "La France dans l'œuvre de Henry James," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, x, 11 (Oct., 1932).

¹³ *Atlantic Monthly*, xxxv, 426 (April, 1875).

¹⁴ *Notes and Reviews*, p. 225.

eyes, and Rowland is constantly judging his friend, with sympathy but with an awareness of his weaknesses. These three differences all tend to give an impression of human dignity and freedom which is lacking in Dumas' novel.

Because of these similarities of plot, character development, and prevailing ideas it seems clear that *L'Affaire Clémenceau* was an important influence on *Roderick Hudson*. Whether it was an unconscious influence, rising from that deep well into which the strong impression of 1866 had dropped, or whether it was a conscious influence it is impossible now to say. On Oct. 30, 1873, one year before he began *Roderick Hudson*, James reviewed a translation of *Faust* which had an introduction by Dumas. There he spoke of Dumas' pamphlets and dramas, not at all of his novel. In 1895 when he wrote an article on the death of Dumas, it was again to praise him as a master of dramatic form, without mentioning the novel. He had apparently forgotten the earlier impression and was unaware of how much he owed to *L'Affaire Clémenceau*.

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CHAUCER'S ROSEMOUNDE

On April 2nd, 1891, W. W. Skeat discovered in the Bodleian Library an unknown poem by Chaucer.¹ Two days later the discovery was reported to the literary and scholarly world in the *Athenæum* of April 4th, 1891 (p. 440), where Skeat printed the complete poem with manuscript and textual notes. On April 11th, two more textual notes appeared in the same journal (p. 472 f.), and on May 23rd, 1891 (p. 667), J. M. Hart of Cornell University added some further comment on the poem, which Skeat had inscribed "To Rosemounde." A facsimile of the MS page, accompanied by a diplomatic reprint of the text, was included in *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts*, published by Skeat in 1892,² and in 1894 the poem, now entitled "To Rosemounde. A Balade,"

¹ *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), I. 81.

² Prior to that, Skeat had also published a double leaflet entitled "A Poem by Chaucer"; see E. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 460.

appeared in Skeat's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Vol. 1 (p. 389). It is the latter text, with its unnecessarily normalized spelling, that has become the archetype of all subsequent reprints.

There is one single MS of *Rosemounde*, which is written on a flyleaf at the end of Bodleian MS *Rawlinson Poet.* 163, fol. 114r; the rest of the MS, which dates from the late fifteenth century,³ contains a copy of Chaucer's *Troilus*. According to Mr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, who has been good enough to check for me some of Skeat's readings in *Twelve Facsimiles* (see below) against the Rawlinson MS, the *Rosemounde* facsimile is an excellent photograph, though a trifle darker than the original. It is therefore a relatively simple task to make a detailed comparison between Skeat's transcript and the original MS as a basis for a further study of the text itself.

Miss Hammond, who compared the *Athenæum* text with the MS facsimile, found two errors in it, *Tristram* for *Tristam* and *secounde* for *secunde* (l. 20).⁴ In the facsimile transcript of 1892 the former appears as *tristam*, the latter, however, remaining as *secounde*. Conversely, the reading *iocunde* (l. 5) is erroneously rendered *iocounde* in the facsimile transcript but correctly in the MS notes to the *Athenæum* text. The spelling *beauté* used in the *Athenæum* and in *The Complete Works*, whence it was apparently taken over by Robinson as *beauté*, appears correctly without the accent in the facsimile text, which on the other hand has *s* instead of *f* in *Rosemounde* (l. 15).

The exact text of Bodleian MS *Rawlinson Poet.* 163, fol. 114r, is, therefore, as follows, expansion of abbreviations being indicated as usual by italics:⁵

1. Ma dame ye ben of Al beaute shryne
As fer as cercled is the mapamonde
ffor As the Crystall glorious ye shyne
And lyke Ruby ben *your* chekys rounde
- 5 Therwyth ye ben so mery And so iocunde
That At A Reuell whan that I se you dance
It is An oynement vnto my wounde
Thoght ye to me ne do no daliance

³ W. W. Skeat, *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1892), p. 36.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 460.

⁵ No distinction has been made between *s* and *f*, nor has the crossed *ll* been reproduced in *Crystall* (3), *Reuell* (6) and *fynall* (11).

2. ffor thogh I wepe of teres ful A tyne
 10 Yet may that wo myn herte nat confounde
 Your semy voys That ye so fynall out twyne
 Makyth my thoght in ioy And blys habounde
 So curtaysly I go wyth loue bounde
 That to my self I sey in my penaunce
 15 Suffyseth me to loue you Rosemounde
 Thogh ye to me ne do no daliaunce
 3. Nas neuer Pyk walwed in galauntyn
 As I in loue Am walwed And I wounde
 ffor whych ful ofte I of my self deuyne
 20 That I Am trew tristam the secunde
 My loue may not <be^e> refreyde nor Affounde
 I Brenne Ay in <an^e> Amorous plesaunce
 Do what you lyst I wyl your thral be founde
 Thogh ye to me ne do no daliance

At the foot of the last stanza is written in a different, much larger hand *TREGENTIL* — *CHAUCER*, the two words being approximately two inches apart; scribbled upwards on the right are the unintelligible: *odgod ol olord*. The colophon is identical with that at the end of the *Troilus* on fol. 113v, except for the fact that the latter has, between *Tregentyll* and *Chaucer*, the words, "heer endith the book of / Troylus and of Cresseyde." In the *Athenæum* Skeat suggested that *Tregentil* was the name of the scribe, and restated this opinion still more emphatically in *The Complete Works*.⁷ This view is shared by Robinson, though it has been seriously questioned by other scholars, e. g., McCracken, who believes—and rightly so, I think—that by *Tregentil* the scribe probably wished to convey a compliment to the poet, an appellative comparable to German *Hochwohlgeboren*; ⁸ in support of his theory McCracken quotes the following lines from Brit. Mus. *MS Sloane 1212*:

off my chambyr he is, and born in pallatye,
I-namyd tresgentyl Eger de Femenye.

⁷ Written above the line.

⁸ P. 81, where in foot-note 2, Skeat writes: "I do not think, as some have guessed, that 'Tregentil Chaucer' means 'Tres gentil Chaucer.' Those who think so had better look at the MS. I see no sense in it; nor do I know why *tres* should be spelt *tre*." That *tres* in the phrase *tresgentil* could have lost its *s* (or *z*) at that time, seems very likely; cf. K. Nyrop, *Grammaire historique de la langue française* (Copenhagen, 1899), I, § 465.

⁹ *Athenæum* 1908, I, p. 258.

Brusendorff⁹ accepted McCracken's interpretation of *Tregentil* but argued that the inscription was probably written later, about 1500, in imitation of the *Troilus* colophon and consequently had little value as evidence of the Chaucerian authorship of the balade. As usual, Brusendorff's argument does not carry much weight.

The MS has few errors, fewer, in fact, than Skeat assumed. He emended¹⁰ *Thoght* (l. 8) to *thogh*, *semy* and *fynall* (l. 11) to *semly* and *small*, *trew* (l. 20) to *trewe*, and *be refreyde* (l. 21) to *refreyd be*; he also added an unnecessary *e* in *joye* (l. 12), a form taken over by Robinson and also by Kaluza,¹¹ who, besides, added an equally unnecessary *e* in *seye* (l. 14). The most convincing of these emendations is *small* for *fynall*, which is fully explained on p. 10 of *Twelve Facsimiles*: the error clearly arose "from misreading 'small' with long *s*, as *finall*, i. e. from confusing *f* with *f*, and *m* with *in*; after which *y* was written for *i*, because it was usual to employ *y* for *i* before *n*." Moreover, *trewe* is probably to be preferred to the MS form *trew*, which, if preserved, would result in a so-called Lydgate or broken-backed line; a headless line is a possibility, however, even though there does not seem to be any other line of that kind in the poem. For I agree with Skeat¹² that *dame* in the first line is probably to be read as a disyllable; we may compare *madame* in *Madamē Pertelote, so have I blis* with *Madame, the sentence of this Latyn is* (NPT ll. 3158 and 3165), the former trisyllabic, the second disyllabic. On the other hand, I do not think that *thoght* is necessarily an error for *thogh*, for in the northern dialects in particular *thogh* frequently appears as *thoght* (NED).

A far more important case is the proposed *semly* for *semy*, which has been unhesitatingly accepted by subsequent editors of the poem, and quite naturally so, since it makes good sense. But although omissions of letters are common in early manuscripts,¹³ we must not overlook the fact that there is incontrovertible evidence of an appropriate word *semy* and that consequently *semy* may well be what Chaucer actually wrote. In the fifteenth-century English-

⁹ A. Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1925), p. 439 f.

¹⁰ *Athenæum* 1891, I, 440, *Twelve Facsimiles*, p. 36.

¹¹ M. Kaluza, *Chaucer-Handbuch* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 19.

¹² *Athenæum* 1891, I, p. 440.

¹³ *Twelve Facsimiles*, p. 10.

Latin glossary *Promptorium Parvulorum* (c. 1440) are the following interesting entries,¹⁴ which would seem to supply the clue to the meaning of *semy* in Chaucer's *Rosemounde*:

CEMY, or sotyle: *Subtilis*, -lis, le; omnis gen., 3 decl.

CEMELY: *Subtiliter*; adverbium

SEMY: *Subtilis*, -le; omnis gen., 3.

SEMLY: *subtiliter*; adverb.

An obsolete meaning 'subtle' or 'subtile,' that is 'thin,' fits the context admirably, for *subtile* was formerly used of the voice in that sense, as appears from the following quotation from Trevisa (1398): *In subtyll voys the spyryte is not stronge* (NED).

NED says that *semy* is "of obscure origin," and that it may possibly be "an inference from some compound of *semi*-" This is not too plausible a suggestion in view of the fact that compounds of *semi*- are very rare before the sixteenth century and do not become really frequent until the nineteenth; Chaucer has the compound *semycope* (*GenProl* 262), whereas *semysoun* (*MillT* 3697) is a dubious case (see below). Moreover, the appearance of the adverb *semyly* in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* must imply that *semy* was a well-established adjective and not more or less a nonformation. Yet, if my derivation of *semy* is correct, NED is not far wrong, for *semy* is actually related to this learned prefix *semi*-, not directly but via a common ancestor, Latin *sēmis*, half, which has had many descendants in the Romance languages. Mistral¹⁵ records the adj. *seme*, *emo*, *umo*, meaning "diminué, baissé ée; retraits, desséché, maigre, en parlant de châtaignes et des fruits à coquille dont la peau est vidée par défaut de maturité," and quotes such examples as "*arange seme*, orange desséchée; *nose semo*, noix maigre," etc. He connects the word with Romansh *sem(s)*, *scem*, *ema*, Catalan *sem*, Italian *scemo*, and Latin *semis*. Godefroy¹⁶ has the verb *semer*, spelled variously *cemer*, *seimer*, *chesmer*, meaning "maigrir, dépérir," e. g. in: "Et plus le chevalier aima / Et plus son cuer en lui *cema*"; modern French has *se chêmer* "au sens de

¹⁴ A. L. Mayhew, *The Promptorium Parvulorum* (London, 1908, EETS ES 112), cols. 73 and 406; in the notes on p. 695 occur the following variant spellings: *semy*, *semly*, *semyly*, *semely*.

¹⁵ F. Mistral, *Dictionnaire provençal-français* (Paris, 1932).

¹⁶ F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881-1902).

maigrir." For the latter verb Littré¹⁷ cites the following Romance parallels: "provenç. *semar*, priver, *sem*, privé, anc. catal. *sem*, privé; ital. *scemare*, diminuer, amoindrir; *scemo*, anciennement *semo*, amoindri; piémontais, *semè*; bas-latin, *semus*, mutilé, *simare*, *semare*, mutiler; *sematio* et *scematio*, mutilation; du latin *semis*, demi." Gamillscheg¹⁸ also connects *chêmer* with Italian *scemare* and Latin *semare*, to halve; there is, moreover, a French noun *seime*, sand-crack (on horse's hoof), which goes back to OFr **seim*, corresponding to the above Provençal *sem*, Latin *sēmis* and vulgar Latin *sēmus*.

The *Promptorium Parvulorum* word *semy*, as well as Chaucer's *semy*, is undoubtedly related to the Provençal adj. *seme* and the OFr verb *semer*. Its suffixal -y points to an originally stressed vowel, namely the French past participle ending -é. Just as *aisié* has given *easy* and *palé* the heraldic term *paly*, an OFr *semé* meaning 'diminished, attenuated' would regularly develop into ME *semy*, thin; since its *e* occurs in an open syllable, it was probably open (ē).¹⁹

This adjective *semy* may well be the first component of the alleged compound *semysoun* in *Milt* 3697. Skeat and Robinson print it *semi-soun* and *semysoun* respectively, translating it 'half-sound,' "i. e. suppressed sound" (Skeat), and NED, adducing the late Latin parallel *sēmisonus*, renders it "a slight or gentle sound." Manly-Rickert on the other hand print the line: *And softe he cougheth with a semy soun* (III, 150), giving *a mery* (Hk), *an easy* (N1), *a semly* (Ps, To) as variants of *a semy* (v, 366). It is not without significance, I think, that in none of the MSS reprinted by the Chaucer Society the term appears as a compound: Cp, Dd, El, Gg and Ha⁴ have *semy soun*, Pw *semy soune*, Hg *semy sown*, and La *seme sowne*. In the same MSS, however, we find *semycope* (El, Hg), *semy-cope* (Cp, La), *semy cope* (Pw, Ha⁴), *semy Cope* (Dd), and *semeli kope* (Gg). We are therefore fully justified, it seems to me, in taking the hint from these MSS and interpreting *with a semy soun* as 'in a thin (suppressed, low) voice'

¹⁷ E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris, 1863).

¹⁸ E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1928).

¹⁹ R. Jordan (rev. H. Ch. Matthes), *Handbuch der mittenglischen Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1934), § 225.

—cf. *He . . . sayde to hem with sobre soun* (14th cent.), and *Yet þei answerid with dollefulle sone* (1420), quoted from NED, *sound* sb. 2, sense 4.

An emendation that is not only unnecessary but decidedly wrong is that of *be refreyde* (l. 21) to *refreyd be*, which even appears in NED and has been accepted by Robinson as the correct reading; Kaluza,²⁰ on the other hand, retains the original word-order with unsatisfactory metrical result: the third ictus must then fall on *re*, which is never stressed in the other Chaucerian instances of the word.²¹ If, however, we omit *be* and read *refreydē* (trisyllabic), we at once get a metrically perfect line. In that case *refreyde* becomes, of course, the infinitive of the intransitive verb *refreyde(n)*, to become or grow cold, which occurs twice in the *Troilus*: *Fro day to day he leet it nought refreyde* (II. 1343), and *God woot, refreyden may this hote fare* (v. 507). *Affounde*, which immediately follows, does not mean 'founder, perish' as suggested by Robinson and Kaluza on the authority of Skeat,²² but it is to be derived from OFr *enfondre*, to be chilled or numbed with cold; *found* (vb 4), an aphetic form of this ME *affound*, is recorded from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in NED, where the *Rosemounde* word *affounde* is correctly quoted as an example of the corresponding full form of *found*.

That *be* was not in Chaucer's copy of the poem becomes immediately clear on an examination of the MS. Mr. R. W. Hunt of the Bodleian Library kindly informs me that this *be*, which is inserted above line 21, appears to be a later addition by another hand. The forms of the letters are different from the other examples in the poem; the ink is fainter; and the caret mark is different in form to that in line 22.

This insertion of *be* before *refreyde* can easily be accounted for. The late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century owner of *MS Rawlinson Poet. 163* obviously analyzed *refreyde* as the past participle of the transitive verb and thought that *be* had been accidentally omitted; perhaps he also felt that the metre would be improved by its presence in the line, for he can hardly have pronounced the final *e* in *refreyde*.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

²¹ *TC* II. 1343, v. 507; *ParsT* 340-45.

²² *The Complete Works*, I, p. 550.

The fact that Chaucer uses *refreyde* in *Troilus*, *The Parson's Tale* and *Rosemounde* and that it seems to be used by no other ME writer except Wyclif, is as good internal evidence as any of his authorship of the poem. Whether he or Wyclif should be credited with the introduction of the word into English, is first and foremost a problem of chronology. A comparative study of Wyclif's and Chaucer's Romance vocabularies might help solve this problem and perhaps at the same time shed some light on the relationship of the two writers.

The insertion of *an* above line 22 is a different case altogether. According to Mr. Hunt, the word is in the same hand and ink as the rest of the MS. The small mark easily taken for the final stroke of an *m* appears to be part of the caret mark in line 21. The problem confronting us here is whether this *an* above the line was originally in Chaucer's own copy or not. True, the line scans with *an* between *in* and *amorous*, though the second ictus falls on the insignificant word *in*, leaving the meaningful *ay* weakly stressed and immediately preceded by a heavily accented word. By omitting *an* and pronouncing *brenne* as a disyllable we obtain complete agreement between sentence stress and metrical stress. Since Chaucer was probably less afraid of the hiatus between an unstressed inflectional *e* and a following stressed vowel than his modern editors and metricists make him out to be, I am not particularly perturbed by the sequence *brennē ay*; compare, e. g., *Hyt fleddē, and was fro me goon* (BD 396), *Algate, by sleightē or by violence* (FrT 1431), *Til that he haddē al the sighte yseyn* (CkT 4379), *And ye hym knewē as wel as do I* (CYT 602).²³ Furthermore, in Chaucer's usage *plesaunce* is very rarely preceded by the indefinite article; out of 103 instances of the word listed in the *Concordance*, only three, including the *Rosemounde* case, are so construed.²⁴ For this reason I am inclined to believe that *an* is the emendation by a scribe

²³ The hiatus can, of course, be avoided in all these cases by ignoring the meaningful stresses and analysing the first, third and fourth lines as headless; in the second line *algate* would then have to be trisyllabic, with the second ictus on *by*. Note also these two lines from the CYT: *That of the cyr myghte passe out nothyng* (767) and *Telle me the name of the privee stoon?* (1452), in which the admission of hiatus (*passē, namē*) would facilitate sensible scanning.

²⁴ Cf. *For to his herte it was a greet plesaunce* (ShT 1229) and *But to his herte it was ful greet plesance* (CIT 672).

who wished to make the line scan better; in his pronunciation *brenne* must have been monosyllabic. The error *fynall* for *small* would seem to indicate that the scribe of our MS did not stand on metrical niceties and that consequently *an* was already in the text he copied. The same copy no doubt had *trew*, just as it had *ioy* and *sey*; once the final *e* had ceased to be pronounced, there would have been no point in restoring it in *trew*, for such a spelling would have been no metrical improvement whatever. And so we were left with a line that failed to scan properly, unless it was taken to be headless or broken-backed. But in Chaucer's own copy lines 21 and 22 probably appeared thus:

My loue may not refreydē nor affounde,
I brennē ay in amoureuse plesaunce.

Finally we have the seemingly hypermetrical line 6, from which Kaluza omits *that* in *whan that*, apparently treating *reuell* as disyllabic. The syncopation of *e* in *-ell* will, of course, meet all the requirements of regular scanning without any textual emendation. Though *revel* is normally disyllabic in Chaucer (see, e. g., *CkT* 4397, 4402), a form *rev'l* is no more remarkable than *ev'l* in *BD* 239: *And yet me lyst ryght evel to pleye*; monosyllabic forms of *revel* and *evil*, that is, *rule* and *e'el*,²⁵ are also to be reckoned with in Chaucer's time.

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THE DIET OF CHAUCER'S FRANKLIN

In the Franklin Chaucer has given us a man who in his sphere has attained to a degree of success as high as that reached by the Knight or by the Man of Law. He is not a young man. A white beard, a grown son, and long years of service in public life mark him as being a man well past fifty, an advanced age in Chaucer's time; but the fact that a person of his years is able to make the two-day pilgrimage to Canterbury and back would seem to suggest that he is still the possessor of a good physique. There are several other indications of health. He is sanguine of complexion,

²⁵ See my article "Shakespeare's *night-rule*" in *Language* 18, p. 41 ff.

mild in disposition, and, although at an age at which the body is frequently sensitive to its diet, still able to enjoy the simple pleasure of good food. This leads us to conclude that even with all his cellars, pens, fields, and fish ponds, the Franklin believes in and practices the virtues of temperance; we may imagine that he disciplines his own conduct with the same firmness and wisdom that he has shown in managing the affairs of his county.

It was with such a conception of the man's character in mind, I believe, that Chaucer included, almost parenthetically, two lines in his description of the Franklin. He might easily have left them out, and we should never have been the wiser; but he could not have done so without modifying the picture as we now have it. Having first told us that the Franklin's food was so plenteous

It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke,
Of alle deyntees that men koude thynke.

(CT., Frag. I, 345-6) ¹

he calmly added:

After the sondry sesons of the yeer,
So chaunged he his mete and his soper.

(CT., Frag. I, 347-8)

Since Chaucer has already made it clear that the Franklin stored food from one season to another and that he stored an abundance of it, we find it difficult to believe that the Franklin changed his diet because he had to. It is equally difficult to believe that he made the change through reluctance to display his wealth before less fortunate neighbors; regardless of how temperate or sensible the Franklin may have been, his standard of living was certainly well above that of most of the other farmers in his county. Moreover, neither of these explanations seems at all satisfactory when we consider that he changed not only "mete" but "soper" as well; for drink, even in the Franklin's house, could be expected to remain essentially the same throughout all the seasons.

The key to the solution lies, I believe, in a passage from the *Secreta Secretorum*, a work popular in the fourteenth century and one which Chaucer must have known in some version. Regarding

¹ For quotations from Chaucer I have used *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933.

the diet to be observed during each of the four seasons it recommends:

In veer, diet in tempure, In heruste, hote mettis and moisti, in wyntyre, gret diet hote and drye, In somer suttil diet, cold and moysty.²

The author has told us previously that

Ot Kepe Helth of Body two thynges Bene Pryncipaly necessary. The Fryste Is that a man vse mettis and drynkis couenables and accordynge to his nature or kynde and to his complexioun, as in tyme and in houre and in seyson and as atte his costome. For as ypocras Sayth, "costiome is the seconde nature or kynde." The seconde thyng is, that a man hym Purge in due tyme of superfluytez and humours corruptes, and therfor he is to wyt that after the iiije humores, the complexcion dyuersyn and varien; . . .³

The idea of regulating diet according to the seasons of the year, we see, was only a part of a somewhat more complicated regimen.

This principle, however, was no more original with the writer of the *Secreta Secretorum* than it was with Chaucer. Statements of it or reference to it may be found in the writings of Hippocrates,⁴ Celsus,⁵ and Macrobius,⁶ and also in the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*,⁷ a commentary on which was written by one of Chaucer's acknowledged literary creditors, Arnaldous de Villanova. Moreover, the idea continued to survive in Renaissance thought, as the works of Nash⁸ and Elyot⁹ will testify. John Russell in his *Boke of Nurture* gives us a "Fest for a Franklen," in which we are told to select our diet according to the season of the year.¹⁰

² *The Gouvernaunce of Prynces or Pryvete of Pryveteis*, trans. James Yonge, in *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, EETS., No. 74, 1898, II, 238.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ Hippocrates, *Regimen*, ed. trans. W. H. S. Jones, in *Hippocrates* (Loeb Series), IV, 369-81, *passim*.

⁵ Celsus, *De Medicina*, ed. trans. W. G. Spencer (Loeb Series), I, 67-69.

⁶ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, quoted in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1904, IV, 35-36.

⁷ *The Schoole of Salerne*, ed. F. R. Packard and F. H. Garrison, New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1920, p. 162.

⁸ Thomas Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, *cit. supra*, I, 41.

⁹ Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth*, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, pp. 36b-37b, *passim*.

¹⁰ In *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS., O. S., No. 32, 1868, p. 54.

Hippocrates in his detailed exposition of a desirable regimen taught that one must keep five factors in mind when planning a diet:

Those with physiques that are fleshy, soft, and red, find it beneficial to adopt a rather dry regimen for the greater part of the year. For the nature of those physiques is moist. Those that are lean and sinewy, whether ruddy or dark, should adopt a moister regimen for the greater part of the time, for the bodies of such are constitutionally dry. Young people also do well to adopt a softer and moister regimen, for this age is dry, and young bodies are firm. Older people should have a drier kind of diet, for bodies at this age are moist and soft and cold. So in fixing regimen pay attention to age, season, habit, land, and physique, and counteract the prevailing heat or cold. For in this way will the best health be enjoyed.¹¹

Man is a complex machine subject to the varying influences of age, season, habit, land, and physique; and it is essential that in his diet he strive to counteract any adverse combination of these. In reply to those writers who would impose upon man a simple diet, Macrobius, at a much later date, wrote almost angrily:

Ex calido enim et frigido, de sicco et humido constamus. Cibus vero calidum fecit et humectus, sicca est aestas et calida, auctumnus siccus et frigidus, hiems humida pariter et frigida est. Sic et elementa, quae sunt nostra principia, ex diversitatibus et ipsa constant et nos nutriunt. . . . Cur ergo nos ad uniformem cibum redigis, cum nihil nec in nobis nec circa nos nec in his de quibus sumus uniforme sit?¹²

The *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* in its approach to the problem is corrective rather than preventive, but it emphasizes the importance of maintaining a balance of the elements in one's constitution and urges a seasonal change of diet:

Temporibus veris modicum prandere juberis,
Sed calor aestatis dapibus nocet immoderatis.
Autumni fructu caveas; ne sint tibi luctus.
De mensa sume quantum vis tempore brumae.¹³

The author of the *Secreta Secretorum*, following closely the recommendations of Hippocrates, mentions all five of the important factors. He suggests corrective measures for those who lack an

¹¹ Hippocrates, *Regimen in Health*, ed. trans. Jones, *loc. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 162.

even balance of humors, but he lays greatest stress upon the diet to be observed in health:

. . . a man sholde vse mettis accordynge to his complexcioun, but whan the complexcioun Passyth mesure, ther hit be-howyth to vse mettes contraries to remeue or brynge the complexcion to euenesse *and* mesure: And most be done eisili, by litill and by litill, that the kynde ne be not y-greuyd, for the kynde hatyth Sudayn eschaunge. . . . But whan the humours Passyth ryght by diet discordeynet, or by kynde or tyme or of regionne, they sholde vse contrary dyetis to redresse the excesse and the sorfete. The colerike sholde vse colde diet and moisti, and the Fleumatik hote diet *and* dry. I-lyke maner dyersite of diet shold kepedyn be in the dyuersite of age, and of tyme and of region and of custumes. Anothyr manere of diet couenabill is to yonge men *and* anothyr to olde men; to yonge men gret diet and moisti, to olde men suttill diet and hote.¹⁴

We have already seen that the author of the *Secreta Secretorum* is quite explicit with regard to the regulation of diet according to habit, or custom, and according to the seasons of the year. He also adds a note concerning the effect of region.

In the region of the Northe, grete diete and hote; In the region of the South, suttill diete and temperate.¹⁵

Thus we have all five of the factors mentioned by Hippocrates: land, physique, age, season, and habit; and although Hippocrates never wrote in terms of humors or elements, both he and the author of the *Secreta Secretorum* have the same basic conception of the regimen necessary to preserve health. As the foregoing quotations indicate, the five factors do not work separately. The combination of elements in one factor may balance, or counteract, the combination in another factor; yet the combinations in several factors may be the same and serve merely to intensify each other. The proper diet for a particular man, therefore, may change from year to year, from season to season, or even from hour to hour if he happens to be travelling. The man who would avoid sickness must be vigilant to see that no factor or combination of factors becomes strong enough to affect him adversely; for the basis of good health is nothing more than a proper balance of the elements as they affect the body, and the means whereby such a desirable balance may be maintained is simply an intelligently regulated diet.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Of this, we may believe, the Franklin was well aware. Three of the five factors mentioned by Hippocrates are personal: age, physique, and habit. And Chaucer, whether through accident or intention, has given us definite clues about each of them with regard to the Franklin. We know, first, that he is old; and Hippocrates has told us that old men are naturally moist, soft, and cold. We know also that his complexion is sanguine, a combination of the elements hot and moist, which, according to Hippocrates, makes him ruddy, soft, and somewhat inclined to fatness. Of his habits Chaucer tells us only that he likes a sop in wine at breakfast and that he insists upon having his sauce "poynaunt and sharp." He also says, however, that the Franklin's house is never without "bake mete," supplied presumably from the pens of fat partridges and the mews of bream and luce; and he notes briefly the superlative quality of his bread and ale and the quantity of wine in his cellar.

These details are perhaps more significant than they seem to be at a first reading. The Franklin's hot complexion tends to counteract the coldness of old age; but both his age and his complexion make his moist and soft. To preserve his health, therefore, he should have an abundance of firm, dry food; and this is precisely the kind of food Chaucer has prescribed for him. We observe, first, that both "fissh and flessch" are served baked in this man's household; the meat thus cooked, in addition to being dry, is, according to the Latin physician Celsus, easily digested and very healthful.¹⁶ We note, too, that the fish in the Franklin's mews are especially well suited to his constitution. The bream, a kind of carp, and the luce, or pike, are both hard, firm, fresh-water fish; and their meat is much drier than that of fish which naturally live in standing water. The medical writers are unanimous in preferring fish from salt water to fish from fresh water, and fish that live in running water to those that live in muddy pools.¹⁷ Finally, we note that Hippocrates believed almost all birds to have a drier meat than that of beasts; but of the birds, he said, the one with the driest flesh is the ringdove, and the bird with the next driest is the partridge.¹⁸ Thomas Elyot, following Galen, also lists the partridge among those birds most easily digested and joins the other

¹⁶ Celsus, *op. cit.*, II, 187-205.

¹⁷ See Hippocrates, *Regimen*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 321-23; Celsus, *op. cit.*, p. 195; Borde, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69.

¹⁸ Hippocrates, *Regimen*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 319-21.

medical writers in warning against eating the moist, soft flesh of water-fowl.¹⁹ It would seem, therefore, that Chaucer, although mentioning specifically only a few foods, has with great care selected those that his Franklin could eat without injuring his health.

But the Franklin "wel loved" his morning sop in wine; and we may ask ourselves whether this was not perhaps an undesirable dish for an elderly man. Wine, however, is naturally hot and dry;²⁰ and Thomas Elyot quotes Galen as especially recommending yellow wine for old people because of its heating, nourishing, and purgative properties.²¹ The sop itself was nothing more than a piece of toasted bread soaked in wine which had been spiced with canella, mace, powdered ginger, and cloves.²² But both toast and wine have good drying qualities; and spices, which serve as a mild stimulant, are also drying in their action.²³

This is perhaps one reason why he insisted on having his sauce "poynaunt" as well as sharp. In a cook-book of the fifteenth century we find a recipe for the kind of sauce that the Franklin probably ate. To make a *sauce vert* one should proceed as follows:

Take percelly, myntes, diteyme, peletre, a foil or .ij. of costmarye, a cloue of garleke. And take faire brede, and stepe it with vynegre and piper, and salt; and grynnde al this to-gedre, and tempre it vp wip wynegre, or wip eisel, and serue it forþe.²⁴

The sharpness in this sauce, we observe, is produced either by vinegar or by eisel, a wine made from vinegar. Both liquids are light, and both have the desirable property of consuming the moisture in the body.²⁵ Thus a sauce "poynaunt and sharp" is not merely a pleasant addition to the "bake mete" of which the Franklin was so fond but also a healthful one.

The Doctor of Physic would probably agree that the Franklin

¹⁹ Elyot, *op. cit.*, pp. 20a-21a.

²⁰ Hippocrates, *Regimen*, *loc. cit.*, p. 325.

²¹ Elyot, *op. cit.*, p. 32b.

²² *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery-Books*, ed. Thomas Austin, EETS., O. S., No. 91, 1888, p. 90.

²³ See Hippocrates, *Regimen*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 329-33, *passim*; also *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 169-72, *passim*.

²⁴ *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery-Books*, *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

²⁵ Hippocrates, *Regimen*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 327-29.

has taken satisfactory precautions to preserve the balance of elements which constitutes his natural endowment of good health. The Franklin keeps a supply of the food that is best for him, he has it prepared in the most healthful manner, and he has cultivated a taste for the highly desirable sharp and poignant seasoning. The details in Chaucer's picture are few, but not one of them is inconsistent with the portrait of a healthy man which he presents. Such consistency seems all the more remarkable when we consider that Chaucer might easily have told us that the Franklin ate roast goose or duck instead of partridge, or selected fish other than the firm, dry bream and luce for the Franklin's mews. It would not have seemed remarkable, however, to those of Chaucer's readers who knew something about the regimen necessary to preserve health. They would have noted with approval, we feel, that

After the sondry sesons of the yeer,
So chaunged he his mete and his soper.

And they would have accepted this fact as a necessary part of the picture, a reasonable explanation of the old man's unusual vigor.

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ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF HENGWRT'S CHANGE OF INK IN THE *MERCHANT'S TALE*

From E 2319 on, through the last hundred lines of the *Merchant's Tale*, the scribe of the Hengwrt MS (Hg) used an ink which has turned light and sharply contrasts with his customary dark ink used down to 2318 included. At the end of the same line 2318 the text breaks off in the three manuscripts constituting the genetic family which Manly has called group *c*, viz. Corpus Christi 198, Lansdowne 851, and Sloane 1686 (Cp, La, and S1²).¹ Mere coin-

¹ For a full description of Hg, see *The Text of the "Canterbury Tales,"* by John M. Manly and Edith Rickert (University of Chicago Press, 1940), I, 266-283; for group *c*, II, 62-63, 482; I, 95-96; for the chief points about both, see "Manly's Conception of the Early History of the *Canterbury Tales*," by Germaine Dempster, *PMLA*, LXI (1946), 379-415, esp. 392-395 and 399-400.

cidence, unlikely enough if we consider the length of the tale, 1174 lines, and the position of line 2318, not at any turn in the narrative but within a speech of Queen Proserpine, seems ruled out by the uniqueness of the conditions: Nowhere else does the Hengwrt MS show, in the text of any one piece, two distinguishable inks on the same page;² nowhere else does the *c* text break off within a piece.

If then there is a reason why Hg's change of ink occurs at 2319, that change must reflect a feature of the immediate antecedent of Hg³ precisely at that point. Now, in all other instances in which the Hg MS shows a change of ink, Manly has found conclusive evidence that this was due to the scribe's difficulty in obtaining the texts of some pieces.⁴ The almost inevitable inference is that, in the MeT exemplar used by the Hg scribe down to 2318, there was a break at that point. Yet it was, everything indicates,⁵ from the same exemplar that he later copied 2319-2418. That exemplar, thus, was not incomplete; its break at 2318 was merely what, for lack of a better term, I shall call a case of disjunction, by which I mean that 2318 was the last line on a page or set of pages not attached to the page or set of pages which covered 2319 ff. Parenthetically it may be added that disjunction at 2318 in the antecedent of Hg, besides accounting for Hg's change of ink, also provides an explanation of the shift of affiliation of Ha⁴, genetically related to Hg throughout the central portions of the tale, but with *d*, in another genetic group, at least from 2322.⁶

² Or we might say that, leaving out of consideration the change of ink at F 721, which must be explained in an entirely different way (Manly and Rickert, I, 271-272), E 2319 is Hg's only change of ink within a *CT* piece.—I have not seen the MS, but in view of the thoroughness of Manly's study of it and the importance of the different inks in his explanation, I feel certain that all observable changes of ink are recorded in I, 270-275.

³ That immediate antecedent of Hg's MeT must be imagined as a copy of that tale only, and as probably the sole intermediary between the original of MeT and Hg's text. In no *CT* piece does the internal structure of the Hg group suggest more than one such intermediary.

⁴ Manly and Rickert, I, 270-275; II, 477-479.

⁵ Except for Ha⁴ the MSS derived from $\sqrt{\text{Hg}}$ before 2318, viz. Ad², Bo², Ch, remain in the same relation to Hg, and there is no perceptible change in the frequency or nature of their variants or of Hg's. (I leave out of consideration Fi-Ra², whose affiliations and shift at 2319 [Manly and Rickert, II, 282] seem to me uncertain.)

⁶ Further, the most plausible explanation of the irregular quire 19 in

If we agree that the immediate ancestor of Hg was disjoined at 2318-2319, our problem becomes why this disjunction and the breaking off of the *c* text should occur at the same point.⁷ Were the text of \sqrt{c} derivable from the antecedent of Hg or *vice versa*, the explanation would be obvious. But *c*, here as in most *CT* pieces, is a subgroup of the "Large Group," and Hg, as usual, belongs in another, definitely unrelated genetic group; i. e., the two have decidedly no common ancestor later than the original of all known copies; nor is there the slightest suggestion of contamination between them. Is it then in the very original of MeT that we must look for the root of the conditions in Hg and in the *c* manuscripts? The only feature whose presence there would provide the double explanation here required is again disjunction at 2318.⁸ This would accord with everything that is known or can reasonably be assumed concerning the original of the MeT, viz., that it was a scribal copy,⁹ written at a time when Chancer must have been contemplating at least some rephrasing and completing,¹⁰ hence almost certainly intended from the first, like the originals of various other

Ha⁴ (Manly and Rickert, I, 219) is that, when the scribe wrote E 2226 at the top of fol. iv of what he still planned as a quire of 8, he was in doubt as to the length of MeT (as he was, or had been about ML Endlink).

⁷ Manly's failure to pursue the question is surprising. To quote his full comment: "Whether the change of ink in Hg at 2319 is a mere coincidence with the loss of text in \sqrt{c} or means that the Hg scribe stopped at 2318 because he had to find the continuation before finishing his copying, it is now impossible to say" (II, 282).

⁸ Pure chance excluded, the only conceivable alternative to disjunction in the original would be that disjunction (or its effect, viz. absence of the preceding or following passage) was transmitted from \sqrt{Hg} to an ancestor of the *c* MSS or *vice versa*, along with the text of at least the passages immediately before or immediately after the disjunction. Then, in \sqrt{Hg} or in the antecedent of *c*, the text common to the two would have got lost, and the gap would either have been filled by means of an unrelated text or would have remained.—The chief objection to such an explanation is that it involves the use of the \sqrt{Hg} copy of MeT by the scribe of an antecedent of our *c* copies of MeT, or *vice versa*,—an improbable kind of contact since Hg and *c*, except for a remote relation in PsT, do not in a single *CT* piece share an ancestor later than the original.

⁹ Note the nature of the errors present in the original at E 1824, 1998, 2127, 2133, 2230, 2240.

¹⁰ See Manly's conclusion about E 1305-1306 (III, 474), and note, especially near the end of the tale, the unusual frequency of lines hard to scan: E 1967, 2118, 2218, 2220, 2266, 2325-2326.

CT pieces, as a working copy. Such a copy, prepared of course inexpensively, would doubtless be written without preliminary calculation of the number of pages required, thus, would almost certainly consist not of one solid quire but of separate parts (quires, or loose leaves, or both) of probably variable length. To fasten those parts together, or at least to fasten all of them into one whole, would in all likelihood not be considered necessary, and may indeed have been systematically avoided, for Chaucer would probably find small units more convenient to work on than large ones. In short, disjunction in an original such as that of MeT, even apart from the indication at 2318, seems definitely more likely than not.

But the main point of interest is not that the original of MeT was, to all appearances, disjoined at 2318, but rather the fact that, if this disjunction is to account for the conditions in Hg and in the *c* manuscripts, it must have been reproduced in at least two of the immediate derivatives of the original, viz. the ancestor of the "Large Group" and that of Hg and its associates Ha⁴, Ad³, etc.¹¹ Under what circumstances would such reproduction seem intelligible? It was Manly's conviction that most of our manuscripts of *CT*—Hg among them and, it would seem, also the "Large Group"—derived their texts of most *CT* pieces from copies made for friends of Chaucer's during his lifetime and with his approval. I believe that this theory lacks foundation¹² and is open to various objections, but, in the present article, confine myself to disjunction at 2318. Assuming that the head manuscripts which concern us here—the head of the Hg genetic group and that of the "Large Group"—were written with Chaucer's approval as preview copies for friends and patrons, would they not have been rather neat manu-

¹¹ Further transmission to derivatives of those two copies is possible but need not be assumed. Between the original and Hg there was probably only one intermediary; between the original and \sqrt{c} we must assume two, viz. the ancestor of the "Large Group" and \sqrt{bcd} ; the latter *may* have been disjoined at 2318 and have lost 2319 ff. before either \sqrt{b} or \sqrt{c} was derived (\sqrt{b} leaves the group at 2279 and jumps from 2279 to 2288), but it may equally well have never had those hundred lines. That the \sqrt{d} editor used, for 2319 ff., a text not belonging in the "Large Group" is one of several indications that the loss was old, at any rate older than \sqrt{c} ; yet cf. Manly, I, 95 and II, 281.

¹² For the evidence as I believe that Manly saw it, see pp. 384-386 of my article mentioned above, n. 1. On variants which Manly thought probably authorial, see J. Burke Severs, "Did Chaucer Revise the *Clerk's Tale*?" *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 295-302.

scripts, at any rate units rather than aggregates of loose parts? And would not the scribe of such gift copies, at work presumably in Chaucer's own house, have had on hand all portions of the MeT original? Why, under such circumstances, he should have duplicated in his own copy the disjoined condition of his exemplar, it is not easy to imagine. The alternative, in the form which the present writer has come to regard as most probable, is that the very great majority of the manuscripts postulated as heads of genetic groups for the various *CT* pieces were copies made after Chaucer's death from the papers that he had left; that several scribes worked simultaneously, transcribing from different portions of Chaucer's *Nachlass* and, very soon, also from each other's manuscripts; that those early copies were of single tales and of single blocks of tales, no arrangement for the whole collection or any large portion of it having as yet been worked out; finally, that they were intended, not for sale, not for readers, but as exemplars to be copied from when conditions would permit the preparation of *CT* manuscripts for readers. Those various points and the facts in their support will be discussed in later studies. All I wish to note here is that, on the presumption that such were the circumstances, one can see how some of the cases of disjunction of the originals would be duplicated in some of the early copies. The original of E 2319-2418 might fall into the hands of a scribe who had not as yet obtained the text of the preceding passages. If for any reason he felt that the opportunity should be seized, or, more simply, if no other still uncopied bit of the *Nachlass* was within his reach at the moment, he would transcribe 2319-2418, starting of course with 2319 at the top of a page, which page, later, might and might not get securely fastened to the pages covering the preceding passages. Again, if a scribe's copy of the tale down to 2318 was not in his hands the day the original of 2319-2418 became available to him, he might decide to copy that continuation starting with a fresh page.¹³ What all this would denote—anxiety to secure the texts of as many pieces as possible, little or no concern for the outward appearance of the copies—, while difficult to reconcile with Dr. Manly's views, would agree very well with the alternative picture outlined a moment ago.

In closing we may ask whether, elsewhere in *CT*, conditions are found which likewise point to disjunction in the originals. As

¹³ Cf. the experiences of the scribe or scribes of Ph³ in connection with CYP (Manly and Rickert, I, 431).

might be expected, and as is indeed observable in later manuscripts of *CT*, the most common effect of disjunction is not the absence of a passage in derivative manuscripts, nor changes of ink, but shifts of affiliation.¹⁴ I know of three cases in which shifts occur in manuscripts probably unrelated and in such a way as to suggest disjunction in the original. However, in two of the three, it is impossible to determine with precision the point—then, possibly, the points—at which the shifts occur;¹⁵ in the other, the possibility of genetic connection between the manuscripts involved cannot be categorically ruled out.¹⁶ Thus, while there may have been (I believe that there were) numerous instances of disjunction in the originals of *CT*, and while this may well have left traces¹⁷ in some of our texts of various pieces, conditions definitely pointing to such disjunction are found, to my knowledge, only at E 2318.

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¹⁴ This is particularly clear in the case of the ancestor of group *d*. As shown in an article to appear in *PMLA*, \sqrt{d} , an exemplar made for copyists, consisted largely of portions of the earlier \sqrt{c} . At the beginnings and ends of the \sqrt{c} portions, i.e., at points where we have good reasons to expect disjunction in \sqrt{d} , group *d* almost regularly loses some of its members or picks some new ones.

¹⁵ One is earlier in MeT, near E 1640, I believe, rather than *circa* 1691, where Manly puts it. (Incidentally, as the allusion of Justinus to the Wife of Bath is at 1685, if we had grounds for picturing 1691 as at or near the end of one of the portions of the working copy, what Manly proposes as a "wild theory" [III, 475] might perhaps seem less so. But I see no evidence for 1691 as the point of the shifts.) The second case is *circa* B 2525, in Mel, where the evidence for the large genetic groups is hopelessly obscured by editing and contamination.

¹⁶ The shifts occur very near A 3480 (MiT). If Manly is right in considering the "Large Group" and the ancestor of Ad²-Gg-Ha⁴-Ps etc. as genetically independent, the disjunction of the original near 3480 would seem to have been transmitted to \sqrt{c} and to \sqrt{a} (through perhaps only one intermediary in each case), or to \sqrt{c} and the antecedent of $\sqrt{Ad^2}$.—An interesting point is that \sqrt{c} was no doubt likewise disjoined *circa* A 1740 (KnT), and 3480, as Manly observes (II, 153) is 2 x 1740. It looks as though the two cases of disjunction had appeared at the same time on a copy made of quires of the same length, a copy containing in their proper sequence at least Pro, KnT, MiP, and MiT. That copy may have been the original, possibly put into neat form down to ReT or CkT.

¹⁷ Those traces would be mainly shifts of affiliation involving MSS of only one genetic group.

"VENGEANCE AND PLEYN CORRECCIOUN,"

KnT 2461.

Writing in *PMLA*, 60 (1945), 307-24, Mr. Johnstone Parr presented certain arguments for dating Chaucer's final revision of the *Knight's Tale* at some date later than 1389, thus challenging Tatlock's generally accepted conclusions which would date it 1388-90. One of Mr. Parr's arguments has to do with the interpretation of the astronomical references in lines 2456-69, particularly lines 2461-2—

I do vengeance and pleyn correccioun
Whil I dwelle in the signe of the leoun.

Here Chaucer refers to ills suffered by mankind while Saturn is in the sign of the Lion, in which position, according to medieval astrological theories, the planet's influence was particularly malignant. However, Mr. Parr believes that Chaucer's reference to Saturn's particular vengeance and the resultant "pleyn correccioun" are not supported by the writings of any astrological writers Chaucer might have known. His reference is not, that is, purely a conventional one. Mr. Parr assumes, therefore, that Chaucer was alluding to some particular events in current affairs which were attributed by his contemporaries or by him to the astral influence of the Lion. Mr. Parr cites records to show that Saturn entered this sign on 1 July, 1387, and left it shortly after 15 August, 1389. Between November, 1387, and the end of March, 1388, the planet was in retrograde, when its influence was believed to be especially malignant.

Reviewing briefly affairs in England during this period, Mr. Parr points out the events which might be considered instances of "vengeance" and "pleyn correccioun." Specifically, towards the end of 1386 young Richard's mismanagement of the government, his extravagance and capriciousness, so aroused the ire of his royal uncles, the dukes of Gloucester, York, and Lancaster, that they demanded that he dismiss his favorites and submit to a regency. Richard became virtually a prisoner, and Gloucester, as regent, began a course of judicial murder. During this period Chaucer suffered some reverses and many of his acquaintances lost their lives. The bloody deeds of the so-called "Merciless Parliament" and the

ascendancy of the Gloucester faction Mr. Parr would equate with Chaucer's use of the word "vengeance."

In 1389 Richard asserted his royal prerogatives and successfully enforced his demands. Members of the Gloucester faction in the government were forced to resign, John of Gaunt was recalled from Spain to keep his brothers and the other nobles under control, and Richard negotiated a three-years' truce with England's principal enemies, France, Scotland, and Castile. "Here," Mr. Parr writes, "was 'pleyn correccioun' indeed—coming just before Saturn passed from the sign of the Lion on August 15, 1389."¹

It will be seen that Mr. Parr's argument, in relation to the passage in question, for dating the revisions of the *Knight's Tale* sometime after August, 1389, depends upon the proper interpretation of the line, "I do vengeance and pleyn correccioun." Such attributes are not properly applied to Saturn, Mr. Parr implies, the same Saturn who is responsible for "drownings, imprisonments, hangings, suffocations, popular complaints, poisonings, ruination of buildings, falling walls, cold infirmities, treasons, old commodities, pestilence."² Since Mr. Parr does not translate the line in question, it is impossible to tell just how he interprets the words, "do vengeance and pleyn correccioun," but his topical interpretation of the passage generally would indicate that he was reading the words in their modern signification; that is, as punishment inflicted in return for an injury or an offense (vengeance), or as the act of correcting (correccioun), they do seem to be peculiarly applied to a malignant planet.³

¹ *PMLA*, 60 (1945), 314.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³ Mr. Parr's use of the word vengeance and references to it elsewhere in his article indicate that he uses it in its modern sense. On p. 312, referring to Gloucester's activities and his forcing Parliament to vote him and his associates £20,000 for "their good services in delivering the kingdom," he writes: "It must have become evident to discerning persons then and there that the Gloucester faction was one of essential selfishness and hollow patriotism, and that Gloucester's behaviour in behalf of the realm was nothing less than diabolical political 'vengeance.'" On the same page (n. 22) he writes: "Curiously enough, one Chaucer critic, writing recently about the politics of Gloucester, uses the word itself: 'All the power which Derby exerted, and even the plea of Queen Anne on her knees at Gloucester's feet, failed to deter Gloucester's vengeance, and Burley went to the Scaffold in the Tower.'" Note also "malicious vengeance of the Gloucester faction" (p. 313); the Gloucester faction's "deadly vengeance" (p. 314).

But the line correctly translated fits the context perfectly and is is no way inappropriate. The *NED* lists as one meaning of the verb "do" the following: "To impart to, to bring upon (a person, etc.) some affecting quality or condition; to bestow, confer, inflict; to cause by one's actions (a person) to have (something)." ⁴ "Vengeance" merely means retributive or vindictive punishment,⁵ and "correccioun" is used in the sense of corporal punishment.⁶ "Pleyn" simply means full.⁷ What, then, is Saturn saying in lines 2461-2 but that under his influence men are hanged, imprisoned, strangled, etc., reiterating lines 2457-60, summing up, as it were, activities legitimately ascribed to him?

To consider Mr. Parr's argument further, he would interpret "vengeance" as a reference to Gloucester's ascendancy and the bloody deeds of 1387. As a supporter of Richard II, it is not probable that Chaucer would have described Gloucester's usurpation as an act of "vengeance" in the sense Mr. Parr seems to imply. Many of his friends lost their lives and he himself lost his controller-ship.

Even more difficult to admit is Mr. Parr's interpretation of the "pleyn correccioun" effected by Saturn just before it passed out of the sign of the Lion in August, 1389. In May, when Richard asserted himself, there ensued briefly a period of comparative political calm both within his realm and abroad. Such "correccioun" is not in keeping with the planet's malignant influence, nor with Chaucer's use of the word itself.

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"NETHER" AND "NEITHER" IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The *NED* lists "neither" as one of the forms taken by the word "nether" (as in "his nether lip") in the seventeenth century. Since no examples of the use of this form are offered, the authority

⁴ *NED*, B4 under "do."

⁵ *NED*, 2; cf. A. *KnT* 2066; A. *MilT* 3506; B. *ML* 923; *Mel* 2625-30; 2645-50; *ParsT* 890-95; *TC*, v, 1708.

⁶ *NED*, 4; cf. D. *FriarT* 1320; I, *ParsT* 670-5.

⁷ *NED*, 1.

for it is presumably very slight. Possibly the form is listed only because of its occurrence in the final line of K3^v in the second quarto of Shakespeare's *Othello* (1630) where Emilia speaks of Lodovico's "neither lip" (Globe iv, iii, 40). A careful study, however, both of this quarto and of numerous different copies of the two earlier editions of the play, not only produces very positive evidence that "neither" *was not* an acceptable variant of "nether" in 1623, but also renders suspect the second quarto's testimony that "neither" *was* acceptable in 1630.

In the First Folio edition of Shakespeare the passage that contains the reference to Lodovico's nether lip is on page vv3 (p. 333 in the Tragedies, col. b, line 50) and hence in forme vv3:4^v. This forme was subject to stop-press correction and exists in two states.¹ The earlier of these two states reads "neither lip" in the passage in question, but the later state has "nether lip." Thus the proof-reader who worked on forme vv3:4^v of the First Folio obviously considered "neither" for "nether" a real error, for he required it to be corrected. And this fact has a definite bearing on the value of the evidence presented by the 1630 quarto (Q2). Q2 of *Othello*, once supposed to be derived from a more or less authoritative manuscript version of the play, was actually printed from a copy of the quarto of 1622 (Q1) that had been corrected and in some places very substantially augmented by passages taken from the longer Folio version (F).² The speech containing Emilia's remark about Lodovico's lip is a part of one of the augmentations: it has no counterpart in Q1. Hence Q2 is here based solely upon F—but apparently upon a copy of F that contained the uncorrected state of forme vv3:4^v. Since numerous examples in the *NED* show that "nether" was certainly the usual seventeenth-century form of the word, it seems improbable in the extreme that Q2 would change *corrected* F's "nether" to "neither;" yet if

¹ The earlier or uncorrected state may be seen in the Lee facsimile of the Chatsworth-Devonshire copy (Oxford, 1902). It appears also in Folger copies 15, 31, 47, and 69; and 47 shows the proof-reader's actual corrections on page vv3. Photographs of this page in Folger copies 15, 31, and 47 (and also 10, which shows the corrected state) accompany my article, "A Proof-sheet in the First Folio of Shakespeare," *The Library*, Fourth Series, xxiii (1942), 101-107.

² Although some of its omissions are obviously only accidental, Q1 represents a text that had been deliberately cut for dramatic purposes. It is about 160 lines shorter than both Q2 and F.

based upon *uncorrected* F the quarto might easily take over "neither" without change (as it took over other unusual spellings and some downright errors elsewhere). It therefore appears highly probable that the "neither lip" in the second quarto of *Othello* represents, not reliable evidence for the independent use of "neither" for "nether" in 1630, but only the somewhat careless reproduction in a derivative text of a form that in 1623 had been considered definitely wrong. The error mistakenly introduced into the Folio text was soon corrected—but not before the copy had been printed that was later to pass on its uncorrected "neither" to the second quarto edition.

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CARDINAL PETRUS BERTRANDI, ZANOBI DA STRADA,
AND PETRARCH

At the coronation of Charles IV, which took place on April 5, 1355, Pope Clement VI was represented by Cardinal Petrus Bertrandi de Columbario, who to fulfill this mission journeyed from Avignon to Rome and back again. He took with him, as chaplain and secretary, Johannes Porta of Annonay, who at the cardinal's direction wrote a complete report of the mission, including all the relevant documents and letters and a full, virtually day-by-day, account of the journey. This report bears the title *Liber de coronatione Karoli IV. imperatoris*. It is in two parts, entitled respectively *Relatio Johannis Porta* and *Itinerarium cardinalis auctore Iohanne Porta*. It has been published twice: first, imperfectly, by Höfler,¹ and then, in a critical edition, by Professor Richard Salomon,² who has also discussed it at length in a separate study.³

¹ *Die Krönung K. Karls IV. nach Johannes dictus Porta de Avonniaco*, ed. by K. A. C. Höfler (in the series *Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens*, Abt. I, Bd. II), Prague, 1864.

² Johannes Porta de Annoniaco, *Liber de coronatione Karoli IV. imperatoris*, ed. by Richard Salomon (in the series *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi*), Hannover and Leipzig, 1913.

³ R. Salomon, "Johannes Porta de Annoniaco und sein Buch über die Krönung Kaiser Karls IV.," in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxxviii (1913), 227-294.

I am very grateful to Professor Salomon, who is now at Kenyon College, for calling Porta's Zanobi and Petrarch passages to my attention.

I

Chapter 59 of the *Relatio* tells of the arrival of the emperor in Pisa on May 6; Chapter 60 tells of the arrival of the cardinal in Pisa on May 12; and Chapters 61-68 tell of various events in Pisa in the period from May 18 to May 23. Chapter 69, entitled "Qualiter imperator laureavit poetam Cenobium," is as follows:

Die vero Dominica, xxiiii. videlicet Maii, succedente, qua festum Penthecostes erat, dictus dominus cardinalis in ecclesia cathedrali Pisana missam solemnpnem pontificaliter et cum pallio celebravit, ubi dictus dominus imperator et imperatrix cum omnibus eorum proceribus et prelatis et Pisanus populus universus interfuerunt. Et missa finita continuo dictam ecclesiam exeuntes dictus dominus imperator super gradus marmoreos circumstringentes ecclesiam supradictam iuxta vas quoddam marmoreum super erectam ibi columpnam positum quendam poetam vocatum Zenobium de Florentia dicto domino cardinali ac ceteris aliis supradictis presentibus laureavit. Qui quidem poeta Zenobius orationem, quam conceperat se dicturum coram domino imperatore predicto, complere non potuit, sed oportuit eum esse principio dumtaxat et conclusione contentum. Sed dictus dominus cardinalis, qui libenti animo virtuosos honorat, illum secum in prandio tenuit. Et post sumptum cibum coram dicto domino cardinali multisque baronibus et prelatis, qui etiam comederant cum eodem, orationem conceptam totam multum laudabiliter explicavit.⁴

The date commonly accepted for the coronation is May 14.⁵ This is on the basis of the fact that in two manuscripts of Zanobi's coronation oration, *De fama*, the caption of the oration states that it was delivered *in mane adscensionis domini*, to which one manuscript adds *pridie idus maii*.⁶

⁴ *Ed. cit.* in n. 2, p. 112. In Höfler's text the numeral xxiiii is lacking. This chapter was quoted, from Höfler's text, by A. Hortis, in his *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 272-273, n. 4; and it was summarized, on the basis of Höfler's text, by G. Voigt, in his *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 2d ed., Vol. I, Berlin, 1880, p. 458 (in the Italian translation by D. Valbusa the summary appears in Vol. I, Florence, 1888, p. 455).

⁵ Cf. Paola Guidotti, "Un amico del Petrarca e del Boccaccio: Zanobi da Strada, poeta laureato," in *Archivio storico italiano*, LXXXVIII (= Ser. VII, Vol. XIII, 1) (1930), 263-264.

⁶ The two Mss. are Laur. xc inf. 14, in which the oration appears on ff.

In view of the eye-witness and chronologically meticulous character of Porta's *Liber*, and in view of the cardinal's particular interest in the coronation, the date of May 24, rather than May 14, is almost certainly correct. The date in the manuscripts may be due to a confusion of Ascension and Pentecost, or to an earlier plan as to the day of the coronation.

II

Moving northward from Pisa, the cardinal stopped in Milan for two days, Saturday June 6 and Sunday June 7. The relevant entry in the *Itinerarium* is as follows:

Item die Sabbati sequenti, vi. die Iunii, fuit in civitate Mediolanensi, et ibidem fuit die Dominico sequenti tota die.⁷

Chapter 73 of the *Relatio*, entitled "Qualiter dominus cardinalis est per quosdam comites in Mediolano honoratus et receptus," tells of the cardinal's leisurely journey from Sarzana to Milan, and continues:

Ubi duo dominorum Vicecomitum, videlicet Matheus et Galeaceus, se presentes inveniunt, dominus autem Barnabas apud Modoeciam permanebat. Dictus autem dominus Matheus visitat, enceniat et honorat dominum cardinalem, et dominus eum invitat et insimul convivantur; dominus vero Galeaceus semel dumtaxat eum visitans honoravit. Ibi dictus dominus cardinalis invenit virum unum non solum, de qua natus est, Florentie florem, verum et toto in terrarum orbe notabilem, ymo verius unicum singularem poetam, quo nullus maior natus umquam esse credatur, dominum scilicet Franciscum Petrarcam, iam diu est, per senatum et populum solempnissime laureatum in Urbe, ubi solum poetas huiusmodi

151 ff. (see A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Vol. III, Florence, 1776, cols. 735-736: this Ms. is of the 15th century), and University of Leipzig 1269 (which adds the words *pridie idus maii*), in which the oration appears on ff. 176 ff. (see Voigt, *l.c.*: Voigt does not report the date of this Ms.). The oration appears also, but without indication of the date of its delivery, in Ms. 470 of the Palatine Library of Vienna—a miscellany containing several Renaissance items (see Michael Denis, *Codices manuscripti theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, Vol. I, Vienna, 1793, cols. 511-513: this reference is given somewhat inexactly by Hortis, *l.c.*).

⁷ *Ed. cit.*, p. 140. As the preceding and following entries show, the cardinal had spent Friday the 5th in Lodi, on his way to Milan, and started west on Monday the 8th.

laureari fas est absque pape vel imperatoris presentia. Qui de omnibus et singulis Ytalie conditionibus, prerogativis et gratiis, quibus ultra ceteras mundi provincias est dotata, et de cunctis mundi climatibus dictum dominum cardinalem informat et tanquam devotissimus eius cum quanta potest reverentia eum honorat.⁸

This passage is of interest not only as affording a fixed point in the biography of Petrarch, and as giving further evidence of his fame, but also as reporting a conversation in which Petrarch developed his favorite theme of the "prerogatives" of Italy. One is reminded of an earlier occasion on which he had discussed the same theme with another French cardinal, Gui de Boulogne.⁹

III

On Thursday June 25 the cardinal reached L'Isle-sur-Sorgue, a circumstance which leads Porta to write, in Chapter 74:

. . . ad castrum Insule comitatus Venesini, ubi singularissimus ille Sorgie fons, qui aput Vallem clausam Cavallicensis diocesis per unius leuce spatium prope supradictum castrum Insule sitam, cuius inhabitatio loci propter amenitates et prerogativas innumeras, quas in plerisque suis prosaicis quidem et intentis locis dictus poeta summus enumerat, est eidem acceptior, scaturizat, alveum ducit, gaudiose pervenit.¹⁰

This passage is noteworthy not only for its specific Petrarchan reference, but also as showing a continued local interest in Vaucluse. The valley had been a point for occasional excursions both before and during Petrarch's residence there.¹¹

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⁸ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

⁹ *Ep. sen.* VII 1.

¹⁰ *Ed. cit.*, p. 117. The subject of *est* is *inhabitatio*; the subject of *scaturizat* is *qui*; the subject of *ducit* is *fons*; and the subject of *pervenit* is the cardinal.

¹¹ Cf. *Ep. met.* I 4 and III 3, and *Ep. sen.* x 2.

LA PORTA DEL PIACERE
(*Paradiso* XI, 60)

St. Thomas uses the expression in his encomium of St. Francis. Francis came into the world, says Thomas, as a Sun (*tutto serafico in ardore*); and therefore whoever mentions his birthplace ought to speak of *Oriente* rather than *Ascesi*. Then, directly following this figure (kept in the word *orto*), he continues:

Non era ancor molto lontan da l'orto
ch'el cominciò a far sentir la terra
de la sua gran virtute alcun conforto;
chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
del padre corse, a cui (come a la morte)
la porta del piacer nessun diserra.

Erich Auerbach, in a recent essay on this canto of *Paradiso* entitled *St. Francis of Assisi in Dante's Commedia*¹ comments on the verse (and verses) in question:

Shrilly, with the discord of the struggle against the father, with the hard rhyme-words *guerra* and *morte*, this celebration begins. And above all, the bride: she is neither named nor described, but she is such that no one will open the gates of desire to her—as little as to death (*la morte*). It seems to me absolutely necessary to interpret the opening of the gates of desire in the proper sense as a sexual act, and thus *porta* as the gateway to the feminine body. The other explanation preferred by many commentators, that the reference is to the door of the house, which denies entrance to poverty or death, can indeed be supported by many passages from various texts where it is said that neither to knocking death nor to knocking poverty will anyone open the door: it does not, however, fit the bridal context, and it does not sufficiently explain *porta del piacere*; furthermore, Dante would certainly have avoided such a strongly obtrusive possibility of a sexual explanation if he had not expressly intended it: it corresponds perfectly to the concrete impression of the bitterly repulsive that he here evokes in general.²

¹ In *Italica*, XXII (1945), pp. 166-179, this being an English translation of the original essay in German which appeared in a small volume entitled *Neue Dantestudien*, Istanbul, 1944, pp. 72-90.

² *Italica*, loc. cit., p. 172. The original German (*loc. cit.*) reads as follows:

Schrill, mit einem Misston, dem Streit mit dem Vater, den harten Reimworten *guerra* und *morte* beginnt dieses Fest. Und vollends die Braut: sie wird nicht genannt und nicht beschrieben, aber sie ist so, dass ihr nie-

Auerbach's view of the meaning of *porta del piacere* is, I think, mistaken; and serves only to distort an otherwise suggestive and illuminating reading of this Canto. Nevertheless, one must admit that nowhere in the standard commentaries of the poem is there any interpretation of this figure which may adequately refute Auerbach's view. And one must likewise grant that if the metaphor is intended to suggest merely the door of a house, it does not seem especially appropriate in its particular context here. What then is this figure of a "door of pleasure," and from what native context does it arise?

The metaphor of a *porta del piacere*, it seems clear to me, is part of an established figure, an allegory of a kind, which represents, dramatizes, the assault of love from without. One of Dante's early sonnets is perhaps the best example of this figure:

Per quella via che la bellezza corre
quando a svegliare Amor va ne la mente,
passa Lisetta baldanzosamente,
come colei che mi si crede torre.
E quando è giunta a piè di quella torre
che s'apre quando l'anima acconsente,
odesi voce dir subitamente:
"Volgiti, bella donna, e non ti porre;
però che dentro un'altra donna siede,
la qual di signoria chiese la verga
tosto che giunse, e Amor glile diede."
Quando Lisetta accommiatar si vede
da quella parte dove Amore alberga,
tutta dipinta di vergogna riede.²

mand die Pforte der Lust öffnen will—ebenso wenig wie dem Tote (*la morte*). Es erscheint mir durchaus erforderlich, das Eröffnen der Pforte der Lust im eigentlichsten Sinne, als geschlechtlichen Vorgang zu verstehen, *porta* also als Tor des weiblichen Körpers. Die andere, von manchen Kommentatoren vorgezogene Erklärung, dass es sich um das Tor des Hauses desjenigen handelt, der der Armut oder dem Tode den Eintritt verweigert, lässt sich zwar durch manche Stellen aus verschiedenen Texten stützen, wo gesagt wird, dass dem anpochenden Tod oder der anpochenden Armut niemand öffnen will: sie passt aber nicht in den hochzeitlichen Zusammenhang, und erklärt nicht ausreichend *porta del piacere*; Dante hätte überdies die so stark sich aufdrängende Möglichkeit der geschlechtlichen Erklärung gewiss vermieden, wenn er sie nicht eben ausdrücklich beabsichtigt hätte: sie passt vollkommen zu dem konkreten Eindruck des Bitter-Abstossenden, den er hier überhaupt hervorrufen will.

² Rime CXVII, ed. *Soc. Dant. It.*, 1921, p. 122. Cf. also Dante's *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute* for a similar version of the figure.

The "tower which opens when the soul consents" has, one may suppose, a "door." This door may be opened or not. And, outside, there is one (or something) seeking admission. For it is a fundamental tenet of the philosophy of love held by Dante, and by poets and theologians his contemporaries, that *love is offered to us from without*.⁴ We are told as much in that all-important exposition of the way of Love which is made by Vergil at the very center of the whole *Comedy*.⁵ In fact, that particular point is so clear to Dante from what Vergil there says that he words the matter just so in a further question addressed to his guide:

chè s'amore è di fuori a noi offerto,
e l'animo non va con altro piede,
se dritta o torta va, non è suo merto.

But to this, Vergil replies that there is, innate in man, a noble virtue called *libero arbitrio*:

innata v'è la virtù che consiglia
e dell'assenso de' tener la soglia.

The *threshold* of consent: the figure of the door again.⁶ And

⁴ Christian love must always be so offered, if it is to include God's love for his creatures and complete that circular movement which begins and ends with God. See Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.* I-II, 26, 2: *Utrum amor sit passio*, ad Resp.: "Nam appetitivus motus circulo agitur, . . . appetibile enim movet appetitum, faciens quodammodo in eo eius intentionem et appetitus tendit in appetibile realiter consequendum, ut sit ibi finis motus, ubi fuit principium." Cf. for that part of the process which is the awakening of love, the well-known sonnet in the *Vita Nuova* beginning *Amor e'l cor gentil sono una cosa*; and, *passim*, the whole discussion of love in Cantos XVII and XVIII of *Purgatorio*. Not that one may presume to point such things out to a scholar as well-versed in the Middle Ages as Auerbach, who has given us a remarkable study touching on just this matter in his essay *Passio als Leidenschaft*, *PMLA* LVI (1941), pp. 1179-1196.

⁵ *Purgatorio* XVII-XVIII.

⁶ Other examples in Dante where the figure is latent are:

Purg. xv, 130-132:

Ciò che vedesti fu perchè non scuse
d'aprir lo core a l'acque de la pace
che da l'eterno fonte son diffuse.

Par. III, 43-44:

La nostra carità non serra porte
a giusta voglia.

now we see better what St. Thomas meant about Poverty. She, like Death, is such a lady that every one of us guards against her the threshold of his consent. No one of us (*almost* no one of us) opens willingly the door (*porta del piacere*) to receive her into that place where she may rule over our life as only a truly beloved may—no one, that is, except a certain young man of Assisi and he a Saint.⁷

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A JUDEO-PORTUGUESE PASSAGE IN THE *FARÇA DE INÊS PEREIRA* OF GIL VICENTE

Alça manim dona, ó dona, ha,
Arrea espeçulá,
Bento o Deu de Jacob,
Bento o Deu que a Pharaó
Espantou e espantará:
Bento o Deu de Abraham,
Benta a terra de Canaam.
Pera bem sejaís casados.
Dae-nos ca senhos ducados.¹

In the most recent edition of the *Obras completas* of Gil Vicente, prepared by Marques Braga,² reference is made to the above lines characterizing them as "formulas de benção aos noivos." In this connection, Marques Braga is in accord with a former editor of Gil Vicente, Mendes dos Remédios, who, according to Braga, considers the first line as representing a distortion of the Hebrew liturgical terms *Elohim Adonai*.³ It is the purpose of this article to offer a new interpretation of the passage given above.

⁷ In the passage in question, the first husband of Lady Poverty is said to be Christ. She ascended the Cross with Him (v. 64). And the *first* followers of Francis are said to take off their shoes and follow after the husband (Francis) so does the spouse (Poverty) please them.

¹ *Obras de Gil Vicente*, ed. Mendes dos Remédios, Coimbra, 1912, II, 336.

² *Obras completas de Gil Vicente*, ed. Marques Braga, Lisbon Sá da Costa 1943-44, VI, 252.

³ This interpretation is not mentioned in the Mendes dos Remédios edition but appears, according to a footnote of Marques Braga, in *Conferências sobre os autos de Gil Vicente*, which unfortunately has been unavailable to the present writers.

The *Farça de Inês Pereira* introduces the *Judeus casamenteiros*, Latão and Vidal, who arrive on the scene shortly after Inês, the peasant girl who longs for a husband with courtly accomplishments, has dismissed her first suitor, a rustic like herself. When her mother asks how she expects to find the squire of whom she dreams, Inês replies that she has been talking with some marriage-brokers who are to return promptly. It is at this point that Latão and Vidal appear. They describe the difficulties of their search and the hardships they have undergone, mentioning as well two personages, Badajoz and Vilha Castim, whom they have consulted. Finally, Vidal declares that a squire with the proper qualifications has been found. There follows a dialogue between the squire, Bras de Mata, and his servant, after which they join the group already described. Bras asks Inês for her hand and is accepted by her after he has sung the romance, *Mal me quieren en Castilla*. The wedding takes place immediately (without the presence of a priest) and the couple receive the blessing of Vidal reproduced above.

The words which present the greatest difficulty are the substantives *manim* and *espeçulá*, which seem to be unknown to both Spanish and Portuguese lexicographers, so that an effort to determine their meaning and to account for their phonetic development from better known forms is justified.

Manim appears to be the Spanish *mano* with the usual Hebrew masculine plural suffix *-im* (Cf. the Heb. dual *yādāyim*—hands).⁴ Spanish words in Judeo-Portuguese are attested in a text of the thirteenth century on the illumination of manuscripts.⁵ Thus we see that Gil Vicente has combined in a single word two non-Portuguese tendencies in the language of the contemporary Jews.

Raising the hands must have been a gesture of thanksgiving, mingled with praise for the Deity; cf. the following passages of the *Cantar de Mio Çid* and the *Primera Crónica General* (cf. Menéndez Pidal in the dictionary of his edition of the *Cantar*, s. v. *alçar*):

⁴ Such combinations of Spanish radical plus the Hebrew plural termination are found in modern Judeo-Spanish dialects. Ex. *ladrún*, *ladrunim*. Cf. Luria, Max A., *A Study of the Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish*, New York, 1930, p. 137; Crews, Cynthia M., *Recherches sur le Judéo-Espagnol*, Paris, 1935, note 657, p. 225.

⁵ Blondheim, David S., *Livro de como se fazem as cores*, Todd Memorial Volumes, I, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1930, pp. 77 (*sabana*) and 78 (*color preto e fermoso*).

alçan las manos pora Dios rogar.
desta ganancia cómmo es buena e grand.

Cantar de Mio Çid, 1617-18.

alçó las manos a Dios et dixo dos uezes:
loado sea a ti Sennor!

Primera Crónica General, 506 a 10

The lack of the definite article in the phrases *alça manim* and *arrea espeçulá* may be considered one of the playwright's efforts to show the faulty speech of the Portuguese-speaking Jew.

Espeçulá is to be considered a modification of *espeçura*, which is common to both Hispanic languages with a general meaning of "thickness, density, dense growth" and with a more limited meaning (especially in Spanish) of "dense growth of hair or head of hair."⁶ The phonetic changes to be accounted for are *l* instead of *r* and the shift of accent from penult to oxytone. The former represents a reverse rhotacism for which an exact parallel is difficult to find. Perhaps Gil Vicente had in mind cases such as those listed in Max Leopold Wagner, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judentums in Spanien von Konstantinopel*, pp. 117-8, (*zarzamora* > *salsamora*, *el refrán* > *el lefrán*) where Judeo-Spanish appears to show hesitancy between *l* and *r*. Only one example of this type of rhotacism is mentioned in the incomplete glossary of the Moroccan dialect of Judeo-Spanish: *abrigo* > *abligo*.⁷ A parallel to the shift in accent can be found in this Hakitía dialect still current in Tangier, Tetuán and adjacent areas of Algeria (Oran). Benoliel has discovered numerous examples:

Las palabras esdrújulas en castellano quedan siendo agudas en Hakitía: paxaró, fabricá, latigó, lampará, balsamó, tutanó, medicó, murciegaló, colerá.⁸

Similar forms have been recorded by Bénichou:⁹

sabandás (p. 69, *El Sevillano*, I. 30)

lagrimás (p. 116, *La Reina Xerifa mora*, I. 29)

Malagá (p. 339, *Melchior y Laurensia*, I. 1)

⁶ *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 1914 ed., p. 441.

⁷ Benoliel, José, *Dialectos judeo-hispano-marroquí o hakitía*, *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, XIV (1927), p. 556.

⁸ Benoliel, José, *op. cit.*, XIII (1926), 342.

⁹ Bénichou, P., *Romances judeo-españoles de Marruecos*, *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, VI (1944), *passim*, and VII (1945), 216.

It may be objected that in all of the examples cited the original accent was preparoxytonic rather than paroxytonic as in *espessura*. Nevertheless, a general tendency to shift the accent to the final syllable is apparent to us as it must have been to Vicente when he distorted the original word to emphasize the Jewish flavor of the passage. It is more difficult to arrive at a valid explanation of the phenomenon. Perhaps there has been some influence by the system of accentuation in Sephardic Hebrew, where the ultimate is generally tonic.

The reader, with this interpretation and explanation of the key words *manim* and *espeçulá*, is enabled to visualize the scene. In the first line the marriage-broker Vidal commands Inês to raise her hands in sign of gratitude for the husband who has been provided through Vidal's good offices. From the sphere of traditional Hispanic-Christian custom, Vidal proceeds in the second line to introduce a specifically Jewish element. The phrase *arrea espeçulá* "arrange your hair" must refer to the requirement that Jewish matrons indicate their conjugal status by concealing their hair, either through its removal and replacement by a wig, or, especially in the case of the Sephardic Jews, through the use of a kerchief to achieve the same purpose (cf. *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. *wig* (*sheitel*)). Evidence that this custom has continued until modern times is offered by the following passages from an account of the Bensaúde family of the island of São Miguel of the Azores:

Procedia-se aos preparativos para o casamento, quando surgiu um incidente que veio pôr em perigo a sua realização: era costume por êsse tempo cortar o cabelo às raparigas judias, por ocasião do casamento, e substituí-lo por uma cabeleira postiça.

Essa vélha tradição calu depois em Portugal quási completamente em desuso. Quando falaram à minha mãe em cortar o seu lindo cabelo, declarou muito resoluta que nesse caso preferia não casar. O avô teve de intervir novamente para remover a dificuldade, estabelecendo-se o seguinte compromisso: minha mãe conservaria o seu cabelo, mas ocultá-lo-ia durante a cerimónia do casamento com quaisquer adornos e depois faria o que quisesse.¹⁰

The benediction formulae which follow are a mélange of translated excerpts from the Hebrew liturgy; however, they are not

¹⁰ Bensaúde, Alfredo, *Vida de José Bensaúde*, Privately printed, Oporto, 1936, p. 99.

particularly drawn from the marriage ceremony, and in one instance (*terra de Canaam*) expressed in terms strange to Jewish custom. The ordinary nuptial benediction makes allusion to Judea and Jerusalem, and in other references Palestine is generally called *the land of Israel, the land of our fathers, or Zion*.¹¹ In Gil Vicente's allusion, the country is designated by its pre-Israelite and biblical name of Canaan, which, in fact, was used by certain Sephardic communities as a pejorative name for their non-Jewish persecutors.¹²

A further remark may be added in regard to the mention of Pharaoh as the ever-renascent *Judenfeind*. Schwarz quotes the following verses which are quite *à propos*:

Livraste-o de hum Pharaó,
Por santo prodigio novo,
De outro Pharaó mais duro
Outra vez livra o teu povo.¹³

In referring to Pharaoh, Gil Vicente makes use of *espantar* in two tenses, the past as an indication of the biblical narrative and the future as an expression of hope that future tyrants will be similarly punished.¹⁴

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LOWELL, HOOD AND THE PUN

In a Lowell Institute lecture delivered in 1855, James Russell Lowell praised the puns of Thomas Hood,¹ and it seems likely that

¹¹ The following *fórmula de casamento* is recorded by Samuel Schwarz, *Os Cristãos novos em Portugal no século XX*, Lisbon, 1925, p. 78: "Em nome de Deus de Abrahão, Isac e Jacob eu vos uno. Cumprí vós a sua benção."

¹² Braunstein, Baruch, *The Chuetas of Majorca*, New York, 1936, p. 105.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹⁴ Schwarz, *ibid.*, p. 69, cites the following prayer, in which a similar shift of tense may be observed: "Adonai reina; Adonai reinou, Adonai para sempre nos faça mercê."

¹⁵ "Humor, Wit, Fun and Satire," in *The Function of the Poet and other Essays*, ed. Albert Mordell (Boston, 1920), pp. 49-50.

Hood's example may have had something to do with Lowell's tendency to pun frequently in *The Biglow Papers* and *A Fable for Critics*. Hood's wild beasts who could not "prey in their own way,"² quoted by Lowell in his lecture, may have suggested the lines in "The Pious Editor's Creed,"

I du believe in special ways
O' prayin' an' convartin';
.....
I mean in preyin' till one busts
On wut the party chooses,
An' in convartin' public trusts
To very privit uses.³

Hood's Ben Battle in "Faithless Nelly Gray" was a bold soldier,

But a cannon-ball took off his legs
So he laid down his arms.

With Ben may be compared Lowell's Birdofredum Sawin who is forced to surrender his gun in order to get back his wooden leg from the negro Pomp:

However, ez there worn't no help, I finally give in
An' heft my arms away to get my leg safe back agin.⁴

These are the only instances apparently in which Lowell and Hood played on the same words, but Lowell's manner of punning is so much like that of Hood that Paul Elmer More's comment on Hood's puns might justly be applied to Lowell's. Sometimes, said More, Hood relied on mere similarity of sound, "but more often there is a kind of accompanying twist in the situation itself, playful or grotesque, which raises the humor above the exasperation of sheer verbicide."⁵

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² In "The Monkey-Martyr."

³ *The Biglow Papers* (Riverside Ed. of Lowell's *Writings*, Vol. VIII), pp. 100-101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵ "Thomas Hood," in *Shelburne Essays, Seventh Series* (Boston, 1910), pp. 57-58.

REVIEWS

Deutsche Literaturgeschichte in Grundzügen. Die Epochen deutscher Dichtung in Einzeldarstellungen. Hrsg. v. B. BOESCH. Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1946. Pp. 363. s. fr. 14. 80.

Auch ohne die geistigen und materiellen Verheerungen der jüngsten Vergangenheit war die Zeit reif für eine Neu-Interpretation der Literatur; Blickpunkte und Maßstäbe haben sich in den zwanzig Jahren seit dem Erscheinen des berühmten *Aufriß der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (*Zs. f. Deutschkunde* Bd. 41 (1927) ff.) erheblich verschoben, die Ausbildung neuer Methoden hat manches neue Ergebnis gezeitigt. Ästhetische und pädagogische Nachteile einer Literaturbetrachtung aus vielen Federn werden mehr als aufgewogen, wenn jedes Teilgebiet von einem Kenner behandelt wird, so daß Unzuständigkeit oder Befangenheit in Vorurteilen ausgeschaltet ist. Solche Darstellung ist nicht mehr aus einem Guß und einem Geist, gewisse Werke (in unserm Fall z. B. *Freidank*, *Wittenwilers Ring*) werden unter den verschiedenen Aspekten der Betrachter verschiedener Epochen zu verschiedenen Erscheinungen; aber grade das Prismatische anstelle des Pragmatischen bezeichnet gut den Stand der literaturwissenschaftlichen Forschung.

Die Zeitumstände haben die Ausschaltung in Deutschland wirkender Gelehrter erzwungen. Da aber der Einstrom deutscher Bücher, Zeitschriften, Forschungsergebnisse aus dem Reich in die Schweiz niemals unterbrochen war, sind die 'deutschen' Gesichtspunkte bei den Schweizer Germanisten akzeptiert, die Beschränkung auf Schweizer Federn sollte nicht nur keine geistige zur Folge haben, sondern im Gegenteil eine Urteilsweite befördern, die im Reich schon lange verloren gegangen war. Umso erstaunlicher, daß die beiden überragenden Höhepunkte des Sammelbandes von den beiden Reichsdeutschen unter den Beiträgern stammen, von Ranke (Basel) und Strich (Bern).

Im einen Fall trifft die geistvollste Darstellung mit der glänzenden Epoche der höfischen Klassik zusammen, so daß der tiefe Einblick des Betrachters belohnt wird durch die Grösse des Gegenstandes. Der andere Höhepunkt literarischen Lebens in Deutschland—600 Jahre später—hat leider eine so wenig adäquate Darstellung gefunden, daß mehr Licht und Gewicht auf den Barock (Strich) fällt, als für die Balance des Ganzen gut ist. Dennoch ist der allgemeine Eindruck des Werkes ein überaus günstiger: die umsichtig klärende Behandlung der Stil-Epochen

verliert sich nie ins Kleinliche, läßt aber dabei die Einzelercheinung nie aus dem Auge; Belehrung wird nie zur blossen Besserwisserei; die Begrenzung der Abschnitte ist nie schematisch, kaum je gewaltsam. Die schwere Aufgabe, die literarischen Erscheinungen mit allen andern geistigen Manifestationen einer Epoche so zu verbinden, daß sie zu Wort-Führern eines Zeitabschnitts werden, ist im Ganzen geglückt.

Burkhards straffe Behandlung der frühen Literatur bis 1160 leidet etwas unter seiner zähflüssigen Schreibe. Doch scheinen mir die wichtigen Akzente überall richtig gesetzt. Im Widerspruch zu ihm befinde ich mich nur bei seinem Versuch, das *Geistliche Drama* auf frühe Ostertropen des 10. Jahrhunderts zurückzuführen: aus Frage und Antwort am leeren Grabe (*Matth.* 28. 5-7) habe sich das dramatische Zwiegespräch entwickelt. Es ist ja wohl bereits kanonisch, die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geist der Mysterie abzuleiten. Ich halte es an der Zeit, darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Auflösung biblischer Erzählung in Frage und Bestätigung überhaupt keinen dialektischen Charakter hat, sondern auf liturgischer Technik beruht: 'Wen sucht ihr?'—'Jesus, den Gekreuzigten.'—'Er ist nicht hier. Er ist erstanden.' Das ist nicht die Keimzelle eines *sic et non*, sondern Aussage in der Form höherer Intensität. Das ist keine dialektische Auseinander-Setzung, sondern ein Auseinander-Legen, ein emphatisches Aussagen, eine Art von liturgischem Sperrdruck, der den Höhepunkt des Gottesdienstes stärker belichtet. Oder sind vielleicht die *Taufgelöbnisse* des 8. Jahrhunderts auch schon Keimzellen des Dramas?

In Rankes Darstellung der höfischen Dichtung sind die Forschungsergebnisse vor allem Schneiders, de Boors, Schwieterings zu einem vollkommenen Ganzen verarbeitet. Es steht zu hoffen, daß das hier gegebene Bild der mhd. Klassik überall ältere, oft philiströse Anschauungen ersetzt. Mich wundert nur, warum Ranke der Reinmar-Walther 'Fehde' ein biographisches Gewicht beilegt; ich sehe es als ein konzertantes Kampfspiel, als ein 'Doppelkonzert,' aus dem für die realen Lebensumstände nichts abzulesen ist. Die Rollen von Dichtung und Leben sind ja damals dahin vertauscht, daß die Dichtung weit höher steht als die Realität: nicht die Dichtung läuft der Wirklichkeit nach, sondern das Leben folgt dem in der Poesie gegebenen Vor-Bild. Könnte die Turnier-Idee des 'Sich-messens' nicht in eine transzendente 'Fehde' transponiert sein?—Daß bei Walthers volkstümlichen Liedern "lateinische Vagantenpoesie und frühdeutsche Lyrik Pate gestanden haben," ist eine unbefriedigende Aussage. Was weiß man über die 'frühdeutsche' Lyrik? Und woher kommt denn die Vagantenpoesie? Wer hat bei ihr Pate gestanden? Was war sie, bevor sie in die Hände der Vaganten geriet?—Schließlich hat mich noch frappiert, daß der Stricker "aus der Gegend von Nürnberg" stammt. Karlsruhe-Heilbronn würde ich sagen.—Doch sollen diese

kleinlichen Ausstellungen das Lob nicht beeinträchtigen, das der hohen Schönheit und prachtvollen Dichte der Rankeschen Arbeit zukommt.

Boesch hat es mit seinem Abschnitt (1250-1500) schwerer. Nichts mehr von der zarten Erdenferne und vornehmen Gedämpftheit klassischer Töne. Der Übertritt von dem Ranke-Kapitel in das von Boesch ist wirklich der aus einer besonnenen Gartenlandschaft in schluchtenreiches Hochgebirge, von dem Lawinen herunterdonnern. Das Formlos-Gärende spiegelt sich sogar in der irrationalen Sprache des Darstellers. Seiner notgedrungenen rapiden Übersicht wird man Auslassungen nachsehen. Warum aber kein Wort über die Historiographie? Boesch hat sich das reizvolle Kapitel entgehen lassen, wie mit dem Absinken des Universalismus der Abstieg von Welt- zu Stad- zu Familienchronik Hand in Hand geht und sich dabei die universale Hochsprache immer stärker in Mundart zersetzt. Eike, Gottfried Hagen, Jansen Enikel, Ottokar, Johannes Rothe darf man nicht auslassen.—Zu den neuen Kunstmitteln nach der Auflösung der Reimverse gehört vor allem die Synonymik, der Schritt also vom Klang- zum Bedeutungs-reim. Denn auch das ist ein Doppeln, wobei aber nicht mehr der Laut, sondern der Wortsinn entscheidend ist. Auch das sollte nicht fehlen.—Endlich: wie darf man von Frauenlobs "unverschämtem Stolz auf das von ihm fabrizierte Wortgepränge" sprechen, wenn wir doch zu seinem subjektiven Stolz objektive Beweise in Menge haben, wie sehr er den Ansprüchen, die seine Umwelt an Dichtung stellte, genügt hat.—Den Stil der *Geistlichen Spiele* des 13. Jahrhunderts mit Hartmanns Wortkunst zu verknüpfen, erscheint mir unter jedem Gesichtspunkt als grober Fehler (selbst wenn Boesch dabei Rankes mir noch nicht bekanntem Buch *Das Osterspiel von Muri* (Aarau 1944) folgen sollte).—Es ist ja richtig, daß das *Schembartlaufen* am Anfang einer Tradition steht, die zu Hans Sachs führt. Ein interessantes Schiff, das des Schembart, mit seiner Fracht von Teufeln und Narren. Der geprellte, dumme Teufel ist schon ein Vaganten- und Stricker-Requisit, wobei ich anmerken möchte, daß Teufel und Narren im Hochmittelalter dasselbe sind, nur auf verschiedenen sozialen Stufen: der Teufel ist in der religiös gestuften Hierarchie, was im Volkstum der Narr ist. Im bürgerlichen Mittelalter steigt dann der Narr in die Literatur auf; der Weg führt also vom Stricker, zum Schembart, zu Sebastian Brant zu Sachs. Hierbei bin ich schon ins 16. Jahrhundert fortgeschritten, in den Bezirk von Berigers *Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*. Unter dem überstarken Einfluß Günther Müllers verwirft er den "Verlegenheits-Begriff" Renaissance und rechtfertigt das Wort vom "Renaissance-Chaos" dadurch, daß er die Geschichte der Renaissance-Literatur erst nach ihrem Ende beginnt. Er spricht von lauter zweiten Schritten, die in eine Irre zu führen scheinen, hält man die ersten nicht daneben.

Arigo, Steinhöwel, Geiler, Wimpfeling bleiben unerwähnt, von den Verdeutschungen Poggios, Boccaccios, Äsops, Terenz', Livius', Cäsars kein Wort.—Daß Hutten nur gegen die politischen Ambitionen der Kirche kämpft, träfe vielleicht für Walther zu, reicht aber für Hutten nicht aus, der die Kirche als geistige Macht ebenfalls attackiert.—Das über Luthers Verhältnis zur Sprache innig, aber ohne Kenntnis der Details Gesagte ist ein Rückfall zum jungen Jakob Grimm, der Neuhochdeutsch einen protestantischen Dialekt genannt hat. An Unrichtigkeiten ist kein Mangel, wozu noch ernste Lücken im Literaturnachweis kommen (z. B. Böcking, D. F. Strauß für Hutten; Reimann für Seb. Franck; Ricarda Huchs, *Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* für den ganzen Zeitraum); doch gelingt Berigers klarer und kräftiger Darstellung ein recht treffendes Bild der Literatur im eigentlichen Zeitalter Luthers.

Strichs *Barock*, ein Muster induktiver Darstellung, die den jeweiligen Einzelercheinungen ihren Platz im organischen Ganzen mit großartiger Sicherheit zuweist, wird der Barock-Verachtung ein Ende machen. Der Höhepunkt nicht nur des Kapitels sondern des ganzen Buchs scheint mir der geniale Abschnitt über Gesellschaftsdichtung (S. 161-164) mit der Feststellung, daß im Barock die Antwort auf die Frage: was ist vornehm? lautet: das Entlegene, das Gesuchte, das Un-gemeine.—Das Gryphius-Sonett mit seinen eins auf das andere aufgesetzten Bildern hat eine gradezu wörtliche Entsprechung beim Meister Eckhart, könnte also ebenso gut wie auf Seite 150 auch auf 159 im Abschnitt über die Mystik stehen; was ja wieder nur die ungeheure Einheitlichkeit und den Synthetismus des Barock illustriert. So läßt sich die treffende Bemerkung über einen gewissen Katholizismus sogar bei treuen Protestanten, die allesamt recht unlutherisch sind, noch dahin ausdehnen, daß das Konvertieren nicht an den Grenzen der Konfessionen Halt macht: laue Katholiken werden in eifrige 'konvertiert.'

Es sagt viel zum Lobe Wehrlis, daß sein *Zeitalter der Aufklärung* neben Strich voll bestehen kann; er ist ein feinfingriger Klärer und Sonderer der verschlungenen Fäden, die vom *Barock* zum *Sturm und Drang* laufen. Nur sollte die *Anakreontik* nicht gar so schlecht wegkommen; sie ist mit ihrem Bürger-Barock doch immerhin auch eine Überwindung des Abgelebten. Und daß der Bürger anstelle des Hohen Herrn sich selbst das Weinlaub ins Haar flicht, ist doch immerhin schwaches Wetterleuchten einer kommenden Revolution. Daß Wehrlis Ordnungsprinzip nach Gattungen seine Nachteile hat, wird offenkundig bei Lessing Dramatisierung einer Fabel (Ring-Fabel), überhaupt dem Lehrgedicht *Nathan*, das sich Theaterstück nennt, auch bei Gellerts rührenden Lustspielen, die ja auf Richardsons Romanen fussen.

An Ermatingers impotenter Darstellung ist das krasse Mißverhältnis zwischen der Breite der Darstellung und der Einsichten

bedauerlich. Seine *Literatur der Klassik und des Idealismus* beansprucht ein Viertel des ganzen Buchs, oft genug für Tratsch dieser Art: "Vielleicht daß Lenz, der äusserlich ein zierliches Bürschchen war, wenn er in seiner livländischen Heimat geblieben wäre, als abseitiger Lokaldichter ein ruhiges Leben bis ins hohe Alter hätte führen können." Zu ähnlichen Plattheiten geben Schubart, Maler Müller vor allem natürlich die *Lucinde* Anlaß. Daß der *Sturm und Drang* Herrn Ermatinger "heute kühl läßt" ist uns heute weniger wichtig, als warum er damals niemanden kühl ließ.

Gut daß die beiden letzten Abschnitte des Buchs — Zächs *Realismus* (1830-1885) und Bettex' *Moderne Literatur* (1885-1933) den üblen Eindruck des Klassik-Kapitels wieder verwischen. Zäch erhebt sich fast zu der Gediegenheit Wehrlis, wenn er die Verbreiterung der Bildung gegen ihre Verflachung balanciert und das Aufkommen eines neuen Standes der Halbgebildeten beschreibt: aus der Aristokratie der Dichter und Denker wird eine Demokratie der Bildungsphilister, deren Schiffbruch blutige Gegenwartsgeschichte ist. Davon handelt dann Bettex mit Geschmack und Geschick. Manchmal setzt er zu starke Akzente. Gumpenbergs Parodien 'genial' zu nennen und aus Nietzsche herzuleiten, hat selbst nur parodischen Wert; die Zensur "sehr arm an aufbauendem Sinn" zu Heinrich Manns Zeitromanen ist anfechtbar; und die liebe verdrehte Franziska Reventlow erhält die literarhistorische Marke: "Die zur Schwabinger Hetäre gewordene Gräfin."—Ach Gottchen.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800. By JAMES HUTTON. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 822; *transmutantur* pp. 259-274, 275-306.

Several years ago Professor Henri Peyre chose as theme of a thoughtful address given at a dinner of the Modern Language Association the urgent need to reassess the impact of Greek authors on Renaissance and modern literatures. If memory serves, he cited Merrill's study of Du Bellay's Platonism as the one exemplary American contribution until that date. He might well have added Professor James Hutton's meticulous volume *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800*, issued in 1935 under the adoptive imprint of the Cornell Studies in English. The result of a careful perquisition of Latin and vernacular writers in Italy, that volume brought to light and assembled the translations, plagiarisms, and allusions originating in the *Greek Anthology*. Continuing his

arduous task of illuminating the Greek elements in Renaissance and post-Renaissance literatures, Hutton has investigated those ingredients of the *Anthology* reflected in French and Netherlandish writers and has produced a companion volume in the Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.

Here again the undertaking of source study is fraught with complication. Sometimes the influence has come directly from the edition of the epigrams first published at Florence in the almost spurious version of the Byzantine Planudes (1494) or from one of the other editions which preceded Jacob's definitive corpus of 1813-17. Sometimes the influence was exerted through a neo-Latin intermediary—as Colin Bucher imitated Rufinus through Ange-rano—or even from another writer in the vernacular—as Desportes, who never saw the Greek text, translated *via* Tansillo. Even if some attributions remain in doubt, the net result of his methodic compilation and collation, as Hutton remarks, is that the reader sees “a considerable number of literary relationships spring to light, as it were, spontaneously.” By extending his researches beyond the Renaissance, Hutton has been required to utilise not only the Planudean collection, but the subsequent Palatine version.

The author set for himself a task of considerable magnitude. He has had to investigate the French neo-Latinists from Guillaume de la Mare (1451-1525) to Georges-Charles de Lurienne (1732-94), Netherlandish neo-Latins from Erasmus to Hieronymus de Bosch, and French vernacular writers from Clément Marot to Chénier. He has had to read not only all the works of these writers, some of them almost inaccessible, but also all the standard scholarship about them, particularly to see what attributions and sources were already commonly accepted. Certainly scores of additional writers were examined whose works proved to contain no reminiscences of the *Anthology*. In many cases Hutton has established attributions and relationships which will necessarily appear in future editions of some of the major writers treated. Not only do literary relationships here become “spontaneously” apparent, but errors of previous scholarship become “spontaneously” corrected. Thus, to quote only a few examples, Hutton modestly disproves Lavaud's statement that Desportes borrowed nothing from Marullus, notes that several poems of Colin Bucher held by Denais to be autobiographical are mere translations, shows the impossibility of Laumonier's belief that Ronsard found echoes of the *Anthology* in Muret's *Juvenilia*. Hutton is quite sympathetic to the many “researchers [who] have fallen into the trap of finding particular sources of epigrams which, being absent from Planudes, were unknown to the sixteenth century” (p. 49).

Because of the profusion of themes treated, including a few which did not appear in the *Anthology*, this volume not only furnishes a new appraisal of the thematic quality of French literature, but

prepares the way for more fruitful and accurate source studies in the future. Hutton shows himself constantly interested in the variety of ways Greek themes and points are incorporated into French writings.

The whole artistic activity of the humanists with the Greek epigrams can be stated in their own terms as translations (*translatio* or *interpretatio*), multiple translation (*variae interpretationes*), replies (*responsa*), imitation (*imitatio*), and allusion (*allusio*). The regular occurrence of all these methods of treatment implies that the distinctions were not only conscious, but were derived from the rhetorical instruction of the humanist schools (p. 29).

Although Hutton often investigates the procedures by which individual writers adapt the earlier epigrams (e. g., Chénier's notations, quotations, translations, and blendings), his researches will facilitate considerable further work on influence and imitation. Some of the questions which may now be more easily answered: Granted the several types of Greek epigram (anecdotal, moral, comic, satirical, votive, erotic), which types have been favored by individual writers, schools, and periods? Similarly, which particular epigrams have been favored by individual writers, schools, and periods?

That these questions may be more readily answered, Hutton supplies (as in his earlier volume) a Register containing under each epigram the translations or adaptations made of it in chronological order. While a majority of the epigrams were echoed only a few times, and some only once, three of them enjoyed a preponderant popularity. Epigrams 5.78 and 6.1 were echoed forty-five times apiece. Epigram 9.440, which "enjoyed immense popularity apart from the *Anthology*," was adapted sixty-six times. Comparison with the Register in the earlier volume shows that this popularity was paralleled in the experience of Italy. Which are the three themes which captivated so completely continental writers between 1500 and 1800? These are two amatory epigrams of Plato: "My soul was on my lips as I was kissing Agathon. Poor soul! She came hoping to cross over to him," and "Lais, whose haughty beauty made mock of Greece, I, who once had a swarm of young lovers at my doors, dedicate my mirror to Aphrodite, since I do not wish to look at myself as I am and cannot look upon myself as I once was." Lastly, 9.440 is a declamatory piece attributed to Moschus in which Cypris describes the lovable but cunning traits of her son Eros, who has wandered astray.

One of the most absorbing end-products of this study concerns the manner in which imitated or adopted themes are integrated into the creative processes of individual writers. In each borrowing the theme is viewed "*à travers un tempérament*" and it is curious to note how the force of that temperament will frequently transmute the original text to make it conform to the spirit and time of the

adapter—or, as will occur less frequently, how the original text will exert centripetal force, will attract or restrict the temperament.

An obvious example of the first occurrence is Colin Bucher's treatment of the simple epigram of Capito (5.67): "Beauty without charm only pleases us, but does not hold us; it is like a bait floating without a hook." Bucher, writing before 1535, adopts this theme and amplifies it into a regular rondeau of thirteen lines, typical in language, style, and form of the poetry of the nascent 1500's. The seventeenth-century authors indulged in *amplificatio* almost as uneconomically as the sixteenth, even though their style was frequently more chastened and elegant. Thus when Boileau adopted the monostich (9.455), "What Apollo might say about Homer: I sang the song and divine Homer wrote it down," it became a nine-line epigram overladen with the metaphoric trappings by which the neo-classicists advertised their classicism: "troupe des neuf sœurs," "rives du Permesse," "bois de Lauriers," "sacré vallon." Claude Brossette was moved to chide Boileau for his prolixity. Boileau rationalises that without his "narration assés vive, la pensée n'est point en son jour." (Compare his Horatian verse, "J'évite d'être long et je deviens obscur.") By its very compactness of wording, the Greek epigram served to point out the difference between Greek expression and French neo-classic expression, a dissimilarity discernible, if less patently, in regular tragedy of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The same disinclination or inability to equal Hellenic economy of wording and imagery is again apparent among the neo-classicists of the Enlightenment. When Chénier, "the chosen vessel of eighteenth-century Hellenism," adapted Anyte's epigram on the death of Myro's locust and cicada or the Greek couplet on the incestuous Pasiphae, even he who studied so attentively Greek expression, metaphor, and themes and best understood the lexis and *dianoia* of Greek poetry, managed to Gallicise its basic nature by modes of expression and elaboration. The hundreds of borrowings patiently compiled by Professor Hutton not only help us to assess just what neo-classicism is, but in like wise, what it is not.

In sum, Professor Hutton has provided us with a valuable study which, complementing his earlier volume, exceeds the already ambitious aim which he set for his efforts. Beyond expanding our knowledge of the fortunes of the *Greek Anthology* his researches shed new light on the subject of Renaissance and post-Renaissance epigrams in general. He abstracts and analyses many theories on this literary form (in Robortello, Sébilet, Scaliger, Corréa, and others). Beyond treating of a prescribed number of themes handed down in a single corpus, Hutton finds himself tracing the fortunes of some of the most popular motifs in French literature. Thus, he explains the antecedence of the golden letters which the aged Gil Blas posted over his portal ("Inveni portum, etc.") and of Vol-

taire's famous quatrain on the unfortunate snake which bit Jean Fréron. And finally, Hutton has established a repertorium of just about every type and degree of imitation to be encountered during a lengthy period when imitation was one of the crucial elements of literary theory and practice.

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Le Registre de La Grange, 1659-1685, reproduit en fac-similé avec un index et une notice sur La Grange et sa part dans le théâtre de Molière. I. Registre et Index. II. Notice sur La Grange et son œuvre, comparaison des anciens registres de la Comédie Française, historique des premiers recueils de Molière. Par BERT EDWARD YOUNG et GRACE PHILPUTT YOUNG. Paris: E. Droz. [Bloomington: Indiana University Bookstore], 1947. Pp. 387 + 189. \$10.00. (Bibliothèque des la Société des Historiens du théâtre XXIII.)

Eighty years ago Jules Bonnassies¹ protested vigorously against the directors of the Comédie Française because they would not publish documents in their possession or allow the public to examine them. Eight years later the Comédie Française made a partial reply by bringing out the *Registre de La Grange*, with an introduction, but without commentary or index, a work that has been essential to all scholars seriously interested in Molière and the theater of his time. The fact that this publication is now out of print would have furnished sufficient cause for this new edition by Dr. and Mrs. Young. But they have given us much more than that. They have reproduced the original manuscript in facsimile with an ample index and have added in a second volume a study of the work and its author.

They have drawn an engaging portrait of La Grange, Molière's first lieutenant, who played the young lover in many of his comedies, kept the troupe together after the master's death, and had a large part in the creation of the Comédie Française. They have traced the history of the manuscript, acquired by the Comédie Française in 1785, loaned for many years to an actress, for many others to a scholar, and saved from a fire in 1900 by the late Jules Coüet, to whom the new edition is dedicated. They have pointed out various inaccuracies both in the manuscript and in the edition of 1876, have compared the work of La Grange with the frag-

¹ *Comédie Française. Notice historique sur les anciens bâtiments*, Paris, 1868, pp. 6, 7.

mentary productions of La Thorillière and Hubert, as well as with the official *Registres* of 1673-85. They have added a chapter on the 1682 edition of Molière, which owes its existence chiefly to La Grange. The second volume is illustrated with reproductions of twenty-two documents, title-pages, etc. Their work has, too, the romantic interest of meeting the German invaders at Abbeville in 1940 and of surviving their bombardment of the town. A few copies left France late in 1947 to bring us evidence that excellent printing is still being done there.

I have very few suggestions to make:

Tome I, p. 361, *read* Capucin revolté ou deffroqué (correctly given in the index, p. 368). P. 366, col. 2, l. 28, *read* petites grâces. Tome II, pp. 47-8, a letter is quoted from Mlle Bernard to La Grange requesting that no comedy be played after her tragedy on "mercredi,"² and the conclusion is reached that La Grange settled the matter to the advantage of the author; this he probably did, but not in the way she asked him to do, for a comedy was acted after her tragedy at the Wednesday performance; La Grange could evidently say "no" to a woman when he knew what was best for her. P. 66, last line, *for* Valasius *read* Valamir. P. 68, the editors follow Mélése, who follows Reynier in believing that there are allusions in the text of Thomas Corneille's *Inconnu* to a scandal in which Molière's widow was involved, but to arrive at such a conclusion one has to torture the text of the *Inconnu* and overlook its obvious meaning; cf. my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part IV, p. 912. P. 101, to the list of errors in the 1876 edition of La Grange should be added that of Oct. 5, 1684, when the receipt is given as 314 fr. instead of 1314 fr. On the next day this edition gives the receipt, not as 57 fr., 10 s., but as 57 blank fr., 10 s.; apparently the manuscript was correct, but there was not enough ink for the third figure.

These comments diminish little the value of the work, which is one of the major contributions made in this century to Molière studies. I hope that the response of American scholars and libraries will be gratifying to Dr. Young, who has devoted many years of his life to this admirable undertaking.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

² Mlle Bernard was feminine enough not to date her letter, but a reference in it to the fact that the play had been acted after the charges for admission to the theater had been reduced makes it clear that it could not have been written before Thursday, Feb. 24, 1689. "Mercredi" must consequently refer to March 2, when for the first time and in spite of the author's letter a comedy was played after her *Laodamie*. That La Grange was justified in doing what she asked him not to do is shown by the fact that the receipts rose from 542 fr., 10 s. on Feb. 28, when the tragedy was played alone, to 928 fr., 10 s., when it was followed by *les Précieuses ridicules*. Cf. my *Comédie Française*, Baltimore, 1941, pp. 94-5.

A *Bibliographical List of Plays in the French Language 1700-1789*. By CLARENCE D. BRENNER. Berkeley, California: The Associated Students' Store, 1947. Pp. vii + 229, double columns, lithoprinted. \$10.00.

This work consists of two parts: a list of 11,662 French plays and operas composed in 1700-89, arranged alphabetically under the names of their authors, or, if these are unknown, under "anonyme"; then, the same plays and operas arranged alphabetically under their titles and with numbers referring to the first list. Part I gives the date of first performance and of first publication, or, if the play was not published, the location of the manuscript. It also indicates whether the play is in verse or prose, its genre, and the number of its acts. Part II is, in a sense, an index to Part I. Dr. Brenner's undertaking, carried out with infinite patience and with remarkable accuracy, has produced a book that will be invaluable to students of the eighteenth century and to all who are concerned with cataloguing plays. It is unfortunate that, to reduce the cost, the author has had to have the work lithoprinted in such minute characters that a person of normal vision who consults it will have to use a reading-glass. For this the blame should be laid, not on Dr. Brenner, but on organizations that are supposed to aid scholars by financing the results of their labors and which have not come to his assistance.

Year before last I went over his work while he was seeking a publisher and made him a certain number of suggestions. Since then other information has reached me that I should have been glad to pass on to him if I had seen his proof. What I have found amounts to very little in comparison with the thousands of flawless entries. The following corrections can easily be added in the margins of the book:

P. 34, de Belloy's *Gabrielle de Vergy* was played at Versailles in 1770 and at Rouen in 1772, both performances preceding by several years the first at the Comédie Française. The same author's *Pierre le Cruel* is omitted. It should be entered as acted on May 20, 1772, and as published, Amsterdam, Rey, et Paris, Duchesne, 1775. P. 37, *Don Ramir et Zaïde* is listed under Boissy, in collaboration with La Chazette, but the manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale attributes it only to La Chassette (a name stupidly altered by some unknown person to La Chaussée). According to Lérès, Boissy denied that he was the author. The play should be transferred to p. 81, if the spelling of the manuscript is followed. P. 47, the author of *Coriolan* is given as Chaligny Des Plaines, and no mention is made of the fact that there is a manuscript of it at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The author's name is there given as Chaligny de Plaine, or simply as Chaligny. Pp. 85 and 128, the *Caliste* of La Place's *Théâtre anglais* should not be regarded as the same play as the anonymous *Caliste* acted in 1750, nor is there any good reason for attributing the latter to Thibouville. A contemporary, Fréron (*Année littéraire*, 1760 (8), pp. 169-73), speaks of them as different plays, the first by Du Bocage, the second probably by Mauprié, though often assigned to Séran de la Tour.

P. 86, there is at the Bibliothèque Nationale a complete manuscript of La Place's *Jeanne d'Angleterre*. P. 89, it should be noted that "Saint-Pétersbourg," indicated on the title-page of Le Blanc's *Druides* as the place of publication, is a disguise for some French town, and that the day when his *Manco Capac* was first performed was June 13, as indicated by the *Registres* of the Comédie Française and Joannidès, not June 12, as shown erroneously on the title-page. *Thélamire* was probably written by Thibouville; the attribution to Denise Lebrun is due to one of Paul Lacroix's many intuitions. P. 98, there is a nearly complete manuscript of Mauger's *Cosroës* at the Arsenal. P. 124, Saurin's *Blanche et Guiscard* is an adaptation, by no means a translation, of Thomson's *Tancred and Sigismunda*. P. 128, Thibouville's *Namir*, so far as I have been able to determine, was never published. Brenner reproduces Quérard's notation, "Paris, 1759, 12°," but, as Quérard entitles the play *Ramir*, he must be adopting a misprint in the *Almanach des Spectacles* and mistaking the date of performance given there for the date of publication. P. 132, the first edition of Voltaire's *Mahomet* was published at Brussels in 1742; the first edition of *l'Orphelin de la Chine* by Cramer at Geneva; for the latter cf. L. Jordan in *RHL*, xix (1912), 638-9.

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Richard Beer-Hofmann, Werk und Weltbild des Dichters, von
OTTO OBERHOLZER: Bern, A. Francke Verlag, 1947. Pp.
272.

Ever since Hermann Bahr in the Eighteen-Nineties introduced the concept of "Jungwien," it has been customary among literary historians to refer to Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal as the two leading representatives of the group and to include Richard Beer-Hofmann as one of the satellites revolving about these two central suns, a minor figure comparable to Peter Altenberg, Felix Salten, or Leopold Adrian. Such an attitude may have been justified on the basis of Beer-Hofmann's *Novellen* of 1893 or *Der Tod Georgs* of 1900. It was no longer tenable after the appearance of *Der Graf von Charolais* in 1904, which won for the dramatist the "Volksschillerpreis," and it certainly cannot be maintained today after the publication of *Jaakobs Traum* in 1918 and *Der junge David* in 1933. Indeed, Hermann Bahr specifically noted in his diary on January 1, 1921, that the pillars of "Jungwien" from the very beginning were Schnitzler, Beer-Hofmann, and Hofmannsthal. Furthermore, Hofmannsthal's letters, published in recent years, clearly reveal that he looked upon Beer-Hofmann not as a follower but as an inspirer and literary mentor.

Oberholzer's book now boldly espouses the thesis that Beer-Hofmann was probably the central figure of "Jungwien," even though he was the least prolific of the group. Oberholzer analyzes in great detail the ideological content of Beer-Hofmann's lyrics, tales, and dramas, and devotes less attention to the form in which the ideas were clothed. He accepts the traditional view that

"Jungwien" was the literary expression of the mood of decadence, which characterized Vienna from the death of Grillparzer to the Nazi-catastrophe that overwhelmed this city in 1938 and that compelled Beer-Hofmann to flee for refuge to America. This traditional view may have to be modified. The most original contribution of "Jungwien" may some day be seen to lie not in the mirroring of Decadence but in the revolt against it. That this revolt was not always successful does not detract from its significance. Even Hofmannsthal, in his early work such as *Der Tor und der Tod*, already showed a clear perception of the dangers of Decadence and he repeatedly urged escape to a more active, a more responsible existence. It is true that he himself failed to make good this escape, as he confessed not only through the mask of Lord Chandos but also in *Der Schwierige*, but therein lies his tragedy. Beer-Hofmann, however, did find salvation from Viennese Decadence in a rediscovery of his Jewish heritage. He became the foremost singer of the Jewish Renaissance in the German tongue. Oberholzer hints at this transformation of an Austrian aesthete into a neo-biblical bard, but he hesitates to venture too far on this difficult spiritual terrain.

Beer-Hofmann lived in two worlds: Vienna of yesteryear and Judea of the pre-Christian era and of a dawning day. Oberholzer in his extensive study understands and, on the whole, evaluates correctly Beer-Hofmann's Austrian aspects and his rôle in German letters. He does not see or chooses to ignore Beer-Hofmann's significance as the contemporary of Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, and of Martin Buber, the philosopher of Jewish Rebirth, both of whom were his friends and spiritual allies. The richness of Beer-Hofmann's personality stemmed from his being embedded in two complex cultures, the Danubian and the Hebraic. His work was a unique synthesis of both. He remained to the end a foe of cultural monism. On the eve of 1933, he penned his answer to the militant *Weltanschauung* which was to make him homeless in the city of his birth: just as it does not pay for an individual to live solely for himself, so too it does not pay for a people to live solely for its own aggrandizement. Oberholzer attempts to define Beer-Hofmann's relation to the cosmos. He avoids touching on Beer-Hofmann's relation to the burning issues of today, and he completely ignores Beer-Hofmann's last period on American soil.

Oberholzer's book is, therefore, only a torso. The definitive study of Beer-Hofmann and, indeed, of the entire group of "Jungwien" is still to be written. It can perhaps best be written in America, which harbors the *Nachlass* of Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal, and Beer-Hofmann.

SOL LIPTZIN

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The Metaphysical Society: Victorian Minds in Crisis, 1869-1880.

By ALAN WILLARD BROWN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xviii + 372. \$4.50.

Readers in the lives of such great Victorians as Bagehot, Tennyson, J. A. Froude, Ruskin, Huxley, Manning, Gladstone, and Mark Pattison have frequently got glimpses of a very curious discussion group operating in the 1870's, dealing, with amazing nineteenth-century courtesy, in matters of faith and doubt, religion and science. Not until now has any one taken the pains to track down the productions of that versatile group, the Metaphysical Society, and to study its founding, its membership, its influence, its significance for today, and its final dissolution. Professor Alan Willard Brown has undertaken this substantial and important task. He has received from the daughter of Lord Arthur Russell a "full photographic record on microfilm of her nearly complete set of the Papers of the Metaphysical Society." From the Bodleian Library, and from various helpful individuals he has received further material which made possible the first complete and documented study of one of the most fascinating and intellectually influential groups in late-Victorian society. We see the organization rising from the background of the Cambridge "Apostles"; being founded by James Knowles and Tennyson in 1869; growing into a great debating society in which Churchmen and agnostics, theists and rationalists, critics and philosophers candidly argued their several positions; then after giving a stimulus to such new journals as the *Contemporary Review*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and *Mind*, showing its continuing influence in the Society for Psychical Research, the Aristotelian Society, and the Synthetic Society. It is truly an absorbing story for any one interested in what the author says is his "true subject," namely, a "faith in discourse which was the dominating feature of the intellectual life of the nineteenth century" (p. xiv). It is important, also, for the light it throws on Victorian journalism, intellectual ferment, and the final Victorian failure to solve the problems which had been so brilliantly stated and analyzed. These problems are not left by the author with the Victorians, but are followed by him into our own day, in two thoughtful final chapters.

Considering the great number of papers to be studied (90), and the great number of members of the society, the author has attempted to convey to us the nature of the society by first describing a typical meeting, based on R. H. Hutton's "Reminiscence" in the *Nineteenth Century* (August, 1885), and then in a later chapter analysing carefully what he calls "the crucial papers." This method has its advantages, and I think that, on the whole, Professor Brown succeeds in making it work. We do get a first-hand impression, for example, in Chapter 5, of the actual confrontation of such "mighty opposites" as Huxley and Manning. And throughout the book there is admirable exactness, thoroughness, and read-

ability. Difficulties first appear in Chapter 6, where the author begins a series of short sketches of the members of the society. There is unavoidable repetition. And the sketches, running through three consecutive chapters, ultimately fall into monotony. Yet it must be admitted that, even with this flaw, Professor Brown's work is highly valuable as a record of a complicated intellectual event of the Victorian 1870's.

Four Appendices include a list of the members of the society, a note on its minute-book, a valuable annotated list (running to twenty-five pages) of the Papers of the Metaphysical Society, and the notice of its dissolution. There is an excellent index. Professor Brown tells us (p. 71) that he hopes one day to undertake a critical edition of the society's papers. This would indeed be a laudable enterprise. May one urge that, in view of the general excellence of the present study, he contemplate a similar work on the Synthetic Society?

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

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Making the American Mind. Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers. By RICHARD D. MOSIER. New York: King's Crown Press. 1947. vii + 207 pp. \$3.00.

Making the American Mind is a doctoral dissertation that never quite becomes a book. This is unfortunate, because both the story Dr. Mosier has to tell and the moral which can be drawn from his story are important and interesting. The story concerns the imposition of a "conservative" pattern of thought on the naturally liberal American mind through the agency of the very popular McGuffey readers.

The account begins with a summary of the struggle between Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians for control of the United States. In the open arena of political contest, the Jeffersonians won, and they and the Jacksonians, their successors, retained political power, except for a very few years, until the War Between the States. What was won on the open field was, however, lost in the judiciary through the constitutional interpretations of John Marshall, and, we are given to understand, lost in the training of the young through McGuffey editors' deliberate selection of themes and writers within the Hamiltonian, or "conservative" tradition.

This tradition includes, in Dr. Mosier's view, the development of national rather than state patriotism, an alliance with religion to maintain respect for authority, and a resolute support of "middle class," presumably capitalist, morality. McGuffey's acceptance of the pattern is ascribed by the author to a concern for private property, and "the divine right of men of property to rule."

It is unfortunate that Dr. Mosier lacked the perspective necessary

to do well the job he laid out for himself. What seems to us today a conservative view (in Mosier's definition on p. 74) may very well have been in its own day a new and liberating ideal. Thus the theme of America's "manifest destiny," which is treated by Mosier as conservative nationalism of the Webster type, was actually invented by Jacksonian radicals to provide a basis for national unity despite the differing economic structures of the northern and southern sections of the country and the sectional views of Calhoun for the South and Webster for the North. The phrase was first used by John L. O'Sullivan, editor of *The Democratic Review*, and it was picked up by the "Young America" Democrats of the fifties as well as by advocates of the Mexican War. Opposition to this war was not limited to "pacifists and socialists." There was opposition throughout New England and among antislavery elements in the country, not because of opposition to war in general, but because this was the South's war, a war for the extension of slave territory. These illustrations show how, with the best will in the world, some historical knowledge is essential.

Despite such historical errors as these, there is enough material left to document the thesis that there has been an unholy alliance of Christianity, capitalism, conservatism, and education in the United States which, consciously or not, has tried to suppress one of the vital traditions of American life. This is a useful thing to know, and it points the moral of Dr. Mosier's story: when education defends conservatism, it's not indoctrination.

JOSEPH L. BLAU

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BRIEF MENTION

The Heresy of Courtly Love. By ALEXANDER J. DENOMY, C. S. B., Ph. D. New York: The Declan X. McMullen Company, Inc. 1947. Pp. 92. Boston College may well be proud of the first of its new "Candlemas Lectures on Christian Literature." While the irreverent may smile slightly at Father Denomy's explanation of his reason for opening a series of lectures on Christian literature with a discussion of a type of literature that was decidedly not Christian, no one can fail to appreciate the charming, scholarly, and provocative result. He shows briefly the important place of the ideas of Courtly Love in literary and intellectual history. He also gives a very competent and succinct summary of those ideas. He then points out that the ideas of Courtly Love were fundamentally at variance with the moral teachings of Christianity. None of this is new. Its value lies in its graceful and effective expression.

It is when Father Denomy goes on to expound the hypothesis about the source of the ideas of Courtly Love that he has been developing in various articles that he enters on new ground. He

believes that this source can be found in the *Treatise on Love* of the Moslem philosopher Avicenna. He also explains that the dual nature of Andreas Capellanus' *De Amore* and the contrast between Chrétien de Troyes' *Lancelot* and his *Percival* are the result of the idea of "double truth" found in the Moslem writer. Both these suggestions are interesting and provocative. Father Denomy demonstrates that the ideas of Avicenna on the subject of love are similar to those of Courtly Love, but he presents no concrete evidence of any connection between them. The works of Andreas and Chrétien de Troyes can be satisfactorily, to this reviewer's mind more satisfactorily, explained in other ways. But the subject is a fascinating one and new suggestions are always welcome especially when they are expressed with the verve and brevity that mark this little book.

SIDNEY PAINTER

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Early Dutch librettos and plays with music in the British Museum. By ALFRED LOEWENBERG. Reprinted from the *Journal of Documentation*, March, 1947. London, Aslib, 1947; Pp. 30. The British Museum has published no counterpart to the invaluable *Catalogue of opera librettos printed before 1800*, prepared by O. G. T. Sonneck for the Library of Congress. As a specimen section of such a project Alfred Loewenberg has put forth a pamphlet entitled as above. In the introductory note the author observes the "curious fact that Holland, a country with a great musical and theatrical tradition, was very nearly bypassed by the operatic tide, which, starting from Italy, swept all Europe." There were few native composers, and operas of foreign, chiefly French origin predominated. At first glance the catalogue seems to soften this assertion. Of 97 titles about 43 are of Dutch and 43 of French origin, but on closer inspection a large number of the purely Dutch entries prove to represent single celebrations of royal marriages, arrivals of kings, signings of peace or other events of state. As might be expected, the librettos of the operas of French origin go back chiefly to Anseaume, Chamfort, Favart, Lourdette de Santerre, Marmontel, Quétant, Quinault, and Sedaine. *Lucile* is attributed properly to Marmontel, who was entitled to some recognition also under (6) *Annette en Lubin* and (84) *De Toets der Vriendschap*. The arrangement in general parallels Sonneck's catalogue. The descriptive comments are based on painstaking and thorough research. It is to be hoped that this modest beginning may speed the development of a completed whole.

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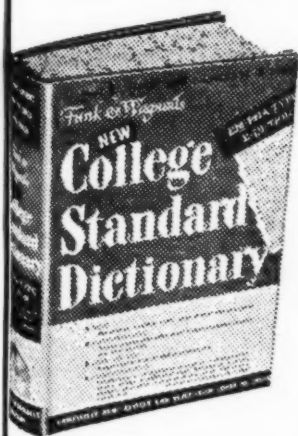
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